

In 1659, A. W. Clough, sometime Fellow & Tutor of Christ Coll. & professor of the English Language & Literature at University Coll. London, corrected & revised this, called Dryden's "Plutarch", with notes in 5 vols 8vo. He considered it preferable to either North's or Langhorne's. The former though with more picturesqueness & pathos, & followed by Shakespeare, was only a translation from the French of Amyot, & was become antiquated, stiff, & quaint - an odd familiar homeliness though, now its stateliness, now its pathos; and Langhorne's translation was dull, heavy, & not written in a good style.

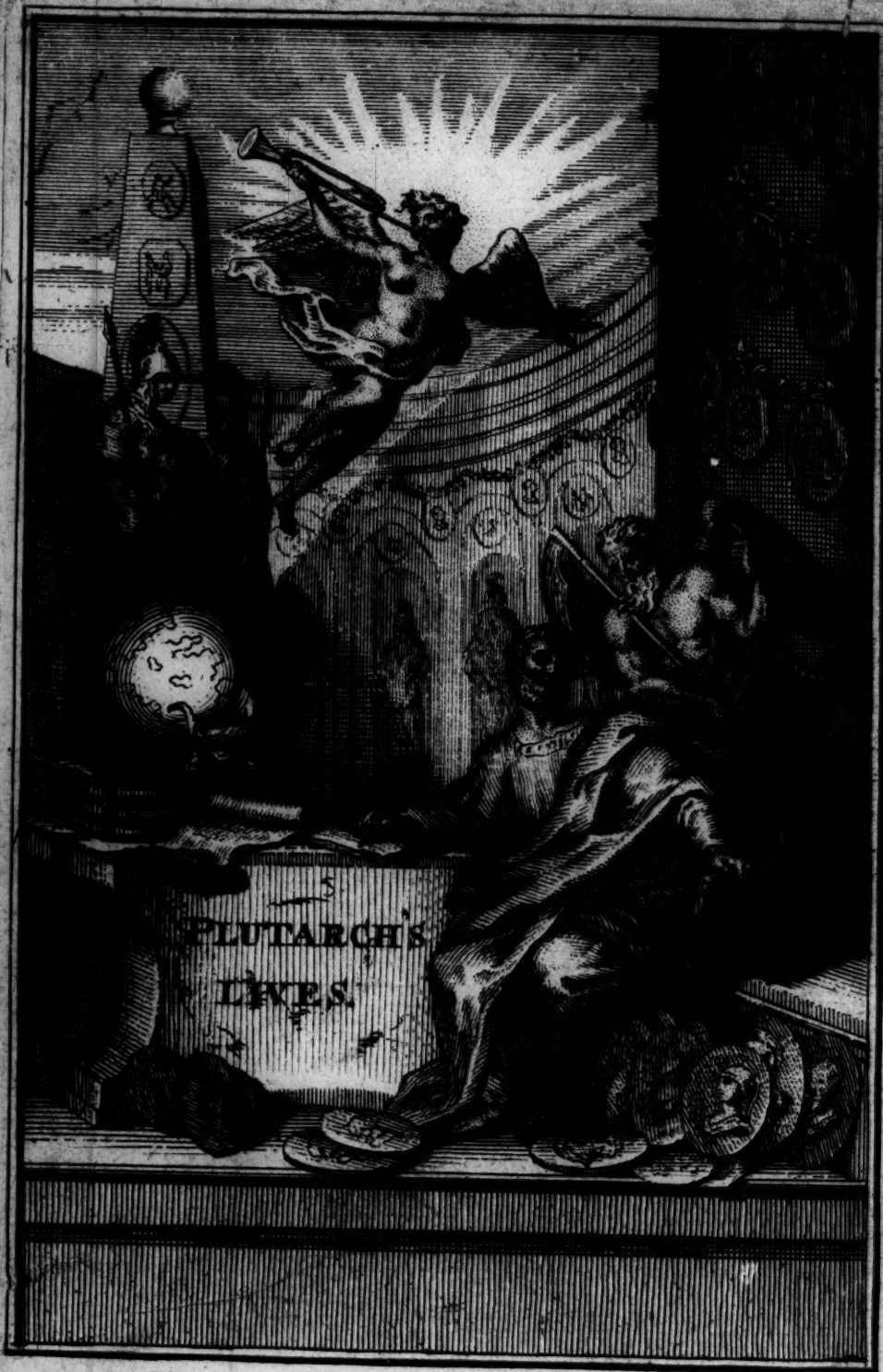
And that his of "Dryden's" possessed the manly freedom & careless graces of the author. The 7th edit. of it was published in 1683=6; & this revised, & touched up from Dacier, in 1727.

The Epistle Dedicatory, & Plutarch, were, alone, by Dryden, - Alcibiades by Lord Somers; Alexander by Evelyn; Cato by Gort, Solon & Pelopidas, by Creech; Lycander, by Charles Boyle; Cicero, by Dr Samuel Fuller; Others by Rycaut, Dymmer, Dr Stephen Waller, Dr. Smallbridge, Duke, &c.

Also, Edw. Browne, M.D., Son of Sir Thomas Browne, Bart. M.D. (Quarterly Review, Johnson's Life)

[Faint, illegible handwriting, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]





G. King sculp.

PLUTARCH'S
^K
LIVES

IN
EIGHT VOLUMES.

Translated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Historical and Critical*
From M. DACIER.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. TONSON in the *Strand*.

MDCCXXVII.

993
11

PLUTARCH

LIVES

IN

EIGHT VOLUMES

Translated by G. R. H. G. R. H.



With Notes Historical and Critical

From the Greek

LONDON

Printed for J. Toulson in the Strand

MDCCLXXV

PLUTARCH's LIVES:

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

CONTAINING

THESEUS.

ROMULUS.

LYCURGUS.

NUMA.

SOLON.

POPPLICOLA.

To which is Prefixed,

The LIFE of PLUTARCH.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. T O N S O N in the *Strand*.

MDCCXXVII.

PLUTARCH

L I V E S :

VOLUME THE FIRST.

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF
ROMULUS
NUMA
TULLUS
CORNELIUS
POMPEIUS



THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

L O N D O N

Printed for J. TONSON in the Strand.

MDCCLXXII.



P R E F A C E.

THE Reader is here presented with a new Edition of Plutarch's Lives translated from the Greek into English, with such Alterations, Amendments, and Additions, as We have Reason to hope will render it more Useful, as well as Entertaining than the Former.

When this Work was first undertaken, the Gentlemen, who generously engaged in it, had not those Helps and Advantages, with which the learned World is at present supplied. Had That been the Case, it is not to be questioned but they wou'd have succeeded much better in Their Hands, than We can presume to think they have done in Ours. The Greek Editions then Extant abounded with Errors, Many of them so gross, that in some Places Plutarch was become absurd, and contradictory, and in Others unintelligible. This Evil has in a great Measure been remedied by the Care and Accuracy of some modern Editors, who have with much Diligence consulted the most authentick Manuscripts, and had Recourse to

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Persons of the greatest Learning and Judgment.

And yet notwithstanding all these Advantages, We should be very ungrateful to the Memory of the late M. Dacier, if We did not acknowledge that without the Lights and Assistances we have borrowed from Him, the present Undertaking would have been very lame and imperfect. As that Gentleman had with great Labour and Industry rendered the Greek Learning in all its several Branches natural and familiar to him, so doth he seem in a more distinguishing manner to have been delighted with Plutarch. He, next to Plato, was his favourite Author; Him he conversed with most, and made Him his particular Study. He has endeavoured with more Care, to enter into the true Sense and Meaning of Plutarch, and succeeded better in it, than any of the Commentators and Interpreters that went before him. He was a Man of too nice a Taste, and too inquisitive a Temper, to be bound up implicitly by Them; on the contrary, he has on many Occasions dissented from them All, and given a new Sense to his Author, which however he doth not do without laying down his Reasons for it. Where those Reasons appear strong and convincing We have followed his Authority, but where they seem to be less cogent and decisive We have left the Sense as We found it. Of This several Instances might be produced, but to mention it is sufficient. Upon the Whole it must be confessed,

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fessed, that to Him it is owing if Plutarch makes a better Appearance in French than any other of the modern Languages.

The Reader will find in this Edition some of the Comparisons, which were omitted in the Former. For Instance, That of Alcibiades with Coriolanus, of Demetrius with Antonius, and of Demosthenes with Tully. Besides These, the Injury of Time has deprived us of four of the Originals, and they happen to be four of the most Considerable, viz. Those of Themistocles with Camillus, of Pyrrhus with C. Marius, of Alexander with Cæsar, and of Phocion with Cato of Utica. These have been supplied in French by M. Dacier, and We have ventured to translate Them likewise into English, from a Persuasion that it wou'd not be unacceptable to the Reader to behold a Modern, such as Dacier, seat himself in his Master's Chair, and personate that great Philosopher and Historian.

The Reader will likewise find frequent mention of the different Species of Coin, as they were severally in use among the Greeks and Romans. We have generally avoided crouding the Margin by a Reduction thereof to an English Valuation, thinking it sufficient to give some brief Explanation of it, as we shall now do in the Preface, leaving the Reader to exercise his own Pen in the Use and Application.

The first Piece we meet with in the following Lives is a Coin of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 99. which

which he caused to be stamped with the Image of an Ox, for the Reasons there given, or to preserve the Memory of the antient way of Commerce, which was carried on by Truck, or an Exchange of Cattel. This Piece was equal in Value to two Drachmas. The lowest Grecian Coin we find in Plutarch is an Obolus, valued at one Penny Farthing, and the Sixth part of a Farthing, six of which made a Drachma, equal to seven Pence three Farthings. Of These, Four may be said to make a Silver Stater, and Twenty five One of the same Denomination in Gold. But no certain Value can be put upon those Staters, nor are they often mentioned in Plutarch. The next Denomination is a Mina, which consisted of a Hundred Drachmæ, as a Talent did of sixty Minæ. These being the Denominations of the Grecian Money chiefly to be met with in Plutarch, it will not be improper to lay before the Reader the following Table.

	l.	s.	d.	q.
1 Obolus makes	00	0	1	1½
6 Oboli make a Drachma	00	0	7	3
4 Drachmæ a Tetradrachm, } or Stater.	00	2	7	
100 Drachmæ, or 25 Sta- } ters, a Mina.	03	4	7	
60 Minæ a Talent.	193	15	0	

According to M. Dacier a Talent of Gold was antiently reckoned equal in Value to ten Talents

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Talents of Silver, but rose by Degrees to Fifteen. It is true, in the remotest Times of Antiquity it was of an uncertain, but inconsiderable Value, computed by Eustathius at no more than twenty four Drachmæ.

The lowest Coin among the Romans, which we find mentioned in Plutarch is the Quadrans, the precise Value of which is not known. Next to This is the As, Two and a Half of which make the Sestertius, and four Sestertii make a Denarius, equal in Value to the Attick Drachma. We think it needless to observe to the English Reader that the Word Sestertium is equal to a thousand Sestertii, because we do not conceive it will be of any use to him in this Translation; for the better understanding of which, so far as it relates to this Article, we hope the following Table will be sufficient.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>q.</i>
<i>1 As makes</i>	0	0	0	$3\frac{1}{4}$
<i>2½ make a Sestertius,</i>	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
<i>4 Sestertii make a Denarius</i>	0	0	7	$\frac{1}{4}$

By the Help of these Tables he may be able to reduce any Summ he will meet with in the following Translation.

There will be no Difficulty in ascertaining the Distance of Places, because Plutarch always reckons by Furlongs, Eight of which it is well known go to a Mile.

But

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But because some Insight in Chronology will be absolutely necessary for the Information of Those, who shall peruse these Lives, Care has been taken to prepare an English Table from M. Dacier, and subjoin it to this Preface.

We have the Life of Plutarch, written in English by our Countryman Mr. Dryden, which is prefixed to This, in like manner as it has been to all the preceding Editions. It is also written in French by M. Dacier, who has added it at the End of his Translation. Without taking upon us to decide which of those two celebrated Writers have succeeded best in the Undertaking, we shall content ourselves with laying before the Reader Some Points and Facts wherein they differ, and leave Him to determine between them.

In the first Place, Mr. Dryden tells us that Plutarch's Thirst after Knowledge, and an Ambition to excel in all sorts of Science, carried him into Egypt, which was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Mysteriousness of their Doctrine might tempt Him, as it had done Pythagoras, and Others, to converse with the Priesthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Business by the Treatise of Isis, and Osiris, which he hath left us. M. Dacier will not allow of this Voyage, any more than he doth of his Journey to Sparta, asserted likewise by Mr. Dryden, Both which he saith are advanced without any manner of Foundation, adding that there
is

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is no one Passage in Plutarch that can give the least Room for such a Conjecture. "What-
" ever he writes," saith M. Dacier, " con-
" cerning the Manners, Customs, and Senti-
" ments of the Egyptians, he took out of their
" Writings. The same may be said of his
" pretended Journey to Sparta. What he
" saith of that People is no more a Proof of
" his having sojourned among them, than his
" Account of the Laws, and Constitution of
" Crete, is an Argument of his having tra-
" velled into that Island.

Mr. Dryden, upon the Credit of Theodo-
ret, saith, that Plutarch had heard of our
holy Religion, and inserted many of our sa-
cred Mysteries in his Works, " which,
" adds he, we may easily believe because the
" Christian Churches were then spread in
" Greece, &c." This will not be granted him
by M. D. A Moral so sublime, saith he, so re-
fined, and worthy of a Christian, has made
Some believe that he borrowed from the
Christian Religion many Truths, which he
mingled with the Precepts and Principles he
had imbibed from the Philosophers. But he
might gather those Truths out of Plato's
Writings. If Plutarch had been so happy as
to have been acquainted with the Writings
of the Evangelists and Apostles, it is not to
be doubted but he would have entertained a
thorough Contempt for the Fraternity of
Bacchus, of which however he was a Mem-
ber, for the Priesthood of *Apollo*, wherein
he

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he officiated for many Years, and for all the other Superstitions with which he was infected. He would have been more reserved in his Discourse concerning Superstition, where he treats of the most undoubted Truths as of so many Fables. . . but forasmuch as he had received no distinct Knowledge of the Christian Religion, which is the only true Light capable of clearing the Understanding, and delivering us from the Yoke of Superstition, he Himself remained in that Bondage. From this corrupt Fountain flowed his strong Prepossession in Favour of Signs and Prodigies, his slavish Subjection to the senseless Ceremonies of Paganism, and his ridiculous Credulity for Dreams and Oracles. He Himself confesseth that he abstained a long time from eating Eggs on Account of a Dream, which he doth not think fit to communicate.

Mr. Dryden, upon the Authority of Suidas, takes it for granted that Plutarch during his Residence at Rome, " was intrusted with the " Management of publick Affairs in the Empire ; that Trajan bestowed on him the Dignity of Consul ; and that an Edict was " made in favour of him, that the Magistrates " or Officers in Illyria should do nothing, in " that Province without the Knowledge, and " Approbation of Plutarch." This is contradicted by M. Dacier, who maintains that Plutarch would not have omitted to testify his Acknowledgments to that Prince for such a Favour.

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Favour. He who is so particular in enumerating the meanest Offices he exercised in his own Country, could not have forbore to mention those extraordinary Honours conferred upon him at Rome. This Error, if it be an Error, has betrayed Mr. Dryden into Another: For taking it for granted, upon the Authority of Suidas, that Plutarch was declared Consul, and did personally receive those particular Marks of Distinction conferred on him by Trajan, he makes it a necessary Induction that he departed not from Rome 'till after the Death of that Prince, and that consequently he continued in Italy for the Space of nigh Forty Years. Whereas M. Dacier is of a quite different Sentiment. He thinks it may be maintained that the first time he went to Rome was towards the latter end of Vespasian's Reign, and that he never undertook any Journey thither after the Death of Domitian, but settled for good and all in his own Country. This he founds upon three Reasons; the First, not to mention the other Two, is, that in his Treatise containing Instructions for Those who are placed at the Head of Affairs, speaking of some Occurrences that befel the Rhodians, he saith in plain Terms that they happened very lately under the Reign of Domitian; a sure Evidence that this Treatise was written a few Years after the Death of that Emperor. Now at that very time when he was writing that Treatise he exercised an Office in his native City, and remained in it 'till his Death.

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To This we may add one thing more, and conclude. Mr. Dryden takes Senecio, to whom Plutarch "dedicated almost all these Lives" of Greeks, and Romans," to be the same with Him, who was put to Death by Domitian. But that This was a Mistake will appear from the Remarks, Vol. I. p. 59.

The Reader will find so just a Character of the Author and his Writings in the Life before mentioned, as it is written by Mr. Dryden, that it will be unnecessary to say any thing of either in this Place. He was undoubtedly the Delight of all Ages, and Nations; insomuch that into whatever modern Language he has been rendered, tho' the Original suffered never so much in the Translation, yet even the faintest and most imperfect Ideas of him have been universally received with Applause and Esteem. It is in a manner impossible for any Hand to debase and depreciate him to such a Degree, but that there will be enough of the Intrinsick remaining to challenge the Love and Admiration of his Readers almost of all Sorts and Capacities. Even Children will find in him a profitable Amusement, and They of riper Years diverting Instructions. It was not therefore without good Reason that Theodore Gaza, one of the most learned Men in the Fifteenth Century, being asked by a Friend In Case he should be under the fatal Necessity of throwing into the Sea the Works of all the Authors that had ever written, which of them he would

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would reserve to the last, and endeavour to save from the general Wreck? *replied* It should be *Plutarch*. For the same Reason Scaliger calls him, as he is the Author of these Lives, the Eye of Wisdom; and the great Thuanus read them over with so much Care and Attention, as to add Notes and Observations of his Own upon them All, which must be an undeniable Instance of the great Value put upon him by that learned and judicious Historian. These Observations, tho' they were designed only for his private Use and Entertainment, were so clear and apposite, they so fully explained and illustrated all the most remarkable and important Passages, that M. Dacier tells us they served much to shorten His Inquiries, and gave him such Lights as he never could have obtained without them.

The two last Lives in this Collection are left out in H. Stephens's Edition, and it is generally agreed among the Learned that they were not written by Plutarch, but are the Work of one of his Sons or Scholars. The Argument they make use of to support that Opinion is the Difference in the Style, and the adventurous Boldness of some Expressions, an Instance of which will be given in the Notes. However This must be allowed, that if they were not written by Plutarch they are at least a close Imitation of him, and come not far behind the Original.

VOL. I.

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A

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Prepared by *M. DACIER* for the use of
Those who shall read *Plutarch's* Lives.

Anno Mund	Years be- fore the 1st Olympiad.		Year be- fore the Building of Rome.	Years before the In- carn.
2437	737	D <i>Eucalion's</i> Deluge, so called because it happened in his Reign, viz. 15 or 16 Years before the Departure of the Children of <i>Israel</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> .	761	1511
2547	627	<i>Minos</i> I. the Son of <i>Jupiter</i> and <i>Europa</i> , reigned in <i>Crete</i> , 110 Years after the Deluge. He was a just Prince.	651	1401
2698	486	<i>Minos</i> II. Son of <i>Lucaste</i> , Grandson of the First, succeeded his Father, and was a Tyrant.	500	1250
T H E S E U S.				
2720	454	The Expedition of the <i>Argonauts</i> , towards the Year of the World 2720. It is not to be doubted but <i>Theseus</i> was then living, for he was in Company with <i>Jason</i> , and his Son <i>Demophoon</i> was at the Siege of <i>Troy</i> , which hap- pened 40 Years after that Expedition.	478	1228
2768	406	<i>Troy</i> taken. <i>Jephtha</i> was then Judge in <i>Israel</i> .	430	1186
2847	327	The Return of the <i>Heraclida</i> into <i>Peloponnesus</i> , 80 Years after the Destru- ction of <i>Troy</i> .	351	1101

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Anno Mund	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Year before the Building of Rome.	Years before the Incarn.
2880	294	The first War of the <i>Athenians</i> against <i>Sparta</i> , wherein <i>Codrus</i> devoted himself for the sake of his Country. <i>Saul</i> the first King of <i>Israel</i> .	318	1068
2894	288	The <i>Helots</i> subdued by <i>Agis</i> King of <i>Sparta</i> .	304	1055
2908	266	The <i>Ionick</i> Migration, 140 Years after the Destruction of <i>Troy</i> .	290	1040

LYCURGUS

3045	129	Lived in the Days of <i>Elias</i> the Prophet. <i>Thales</i> the Musician flourished at the same time.	153	904
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3174		<i>The First Olympiad.</i>	25	774
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Year of the Olympiad.

ROMULUS.

Year of Rome.

3198	VII. 1.	R ome built the first Year of the seventh Olympiad.		
3201	4.	The Rape of the <i>Sabines</i> .	4	747
3235	XVI. 1.	The Death of <i>Romulus</i> .	38	713

NUMA

3236	3.	C hosen King.	39	712
3279	XXVII. 2.	Dies.	82	669

SOLON.

3350	XLV. 1.	W E cannot be at a loss to know when it was that <i>Solon</i> flourished, since he lived under <i>Pisistratus</i> , who made himself Master of <i>Athens</i> in the L. Olympiad. <i>Solon</i> was elder than Him 25 or 30 Years.	153	593
		<i>Cylon's</i> Conspiracy.		
3394	XLVI. 1.	<i>Epimenides</i> arrives at <i>Athens</i> . The Seven wise Men. <i>Anacharsis</i> the Scythian.	157	594

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3356	XLVI. 3.	<i>Solon</i> made <i>Archon</i> . <i>Cræsus</i> King of <i>Lydia</i> .	159	592
3370	L. 1.	<i>Pythagoras</i> arrives in <i>Italy</i> .	173	578
3391	LV. 2.	<i>Cyrus</i> King of <i>Persia</i> .	194	557
3401	LVII. 4.	<i>Cræsus</i> taken.	204	547
VALERIUS POPLICOLA				
3442	LXVIII. 1.	C Hosen Consul in the room of <i>Col- latine</i> . <i>Brutus</i> engages in single Combat with <i>Aruns</i> the eldest Son of <i>Tarquim</i> . Both are killed.	245	506
3444	3.	<i>Poplicola</i> Consul the third time. <i>Ho- ratiu</i> s <i>Pulvillus</i> , his Collegue, dedicates the Temple of <i>Jupiter Capitolinus</i> . <i>Horatius Cocles</i> defends the <i>Sublician</i> Bridge against the <i>Tuscans</i> .	247	504
3448	LXIX. 3.	The Death of <i>Poplicola</i> .	251	500
3459	LXXII. 1.	Under this Year is set down the Battel of <i>Marathon</i> , wherein <i>Darius</i> the Son of <i>Histaspes</i> was defeated by <i>Miltiades</i> General of the <i>Athenians</i> . But in Truth that Battel was not fought 'till two Years after, viz. in the third Year of the seventy second Olympiad. <i>Themistocles</i> and <i>Aristides</i> were in the Action.	262	489
CORIOLANUS				
3460	LXXII. 2.	W AS driven into Exile, because he opposed distributing among the People the Corn that had been imported from <i>Sicily</i> . He retired to the <i>Volscei</i> .	263	488
3462	LXXIII. 1.	The Birth of <i>Herodotus</i> .	265	486
3463	2.	<i>Coriolanus</i> lays Siege to <i>Rome</i> , but withdraws his Troops at the Impor- tunity of his Wife and Mother. Whereupon at his return he is stoned to Death by the <i>Volscei</i> .	266	485

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.	ARISTIDES	A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3467	LXXIV. 2.	Banished by the <i>Ostracism</i> , and recalled three Years after.	270	481
THEMISTOCLES.				
3470	LXXV. 1.	THE Battel at <i>Salamis</i> , wherein <i>Xerxes</i> the Son of <i>Darius</i> was overthrown by <i>Themistocles</i> General of the <i>Athenians</i> , and <i>Eurybiades</i> the <i>Spartan</i> .	273	478
3471	2.	The Battel of <i>Platæa</i> , wherein <i>Mardonius</i> was overthrown by <i>Aristides</i> and <i>Pausanias</i> .	274	477
3474	LXXVI. 1.	The Birth of <i>Thucydides</i> .	277	474
3479	LXXVII. 2.	<i>Themistocles</i> banished by the <i>Ostracism</i> .	282	469
CIMON,				
3480	3.	SON of <i>Miltiades</i> , something younger than <i>Themistocles</i> , lived at the same time. Sent into <i>Asia</i> , where he overthrows the <i>Persians</i> both by Sea and Land.	283	468
3481	4	The Birth of <i>Socrates</i> . He lived seventy one Years.	284	467
3500	LXXXII. 3.	<i>Cimon</i> dies. This Year <i>Alcibiades</i> was born. <i>Herodotus</i> and <i>Thucydides</i> flourished. <i>Thucydides</i> was younger than <i>Herodotus</i> by 12 or 13 Years.	303	448
PERICLES.				
3519	LXXXVII. 2.	THE Son of <i>Xantippus</i> , Promoter of the <i>Peloponnesian</i> War, which was likewise called the War of <i>Archidamus</i> , because He was at that time King of <i>Sparta</i> . This War lasted 27 Years. <i>Pericles</i> was <i>Alcibiades</i> 's Tutor. He was very young when the <i>Decemvirs</i> went to <i>Athens</i> for <i>Solon</i> 's Laws.	322	429
3521	4.	The Death of <i>Pericles</i> .	324	427
3522	LXXXVIII. 1.	The Birth of <i>Plato</i> . <i>Xerxes</i> murdered by <i>Artabanus</i> .	325	426

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.	N I C I A S.	A. U. C.	Note J. C.
3535	XCI. 2.	T HE <i>Athenians</i> make War in <i>Sicily</i> at the Instigation of <i>Alcibiades</i> , wherein he is opposed by <i>Nicias</i> , but to no purpose.	338	413
3537	4.	<i>Nicias</i> being overthrown in <i>Sicily</i> , is taken, and put to Death.	340	411
A L C I B I A D E S,				
3538	XCII. 1.	Y ounger than <i>Nicias</i> , with whom he was at Variance for a long time. He withdrew to <i>Sparta</i> the Year the <i>Athenians</i> began the War in <i>Sicily</i> . But upon Information that his Life was in Danger he fled to <i>Tisaphernes</i> , Lieutenant to <i>Darius</i> .	341	410
3539	2.	<i>Dionysius</i> the Elder makes himself Tyrant of <i>Sicily</i> .	342	409
L Y S A N D E R				
3545	XCIII. 4.	P UTS an end to the <i>Peloponnesian</i> War, which had lasted twenty seven Years, and established the thirty Tyrants at <i>Athens</i> . <i>Xenophon</i> flourished at the same time. He was Cotemporary with <i>Thucydides</i> , tho' something younger, and begins his History where <i>Thucydides</i> leaves off. Thus these three Historians, <i>Herodotus</i> , <i>Thucydides</i> , and <i>Xenophon</i> , follow each other, and take in all the History of <i>Greece</i> .	348	403
3546	XCIV. 1.	<i>Alcibiades</i> murdered by Order of <i>Pharnabazus</i> .	349	402
A R T A X E R X E S Mnemon,				
3549	4.	S ON of <i>Darius</i> , and Brother of the younger <i>Cyrus</i> . He began his Reign when <i>Lysander</i> made himself Master of <i>Athens</i> . Overthrows his Brother in a great Battel. The <i>Grecians</i> who were in the Army of <i>Cyrus</i> made	352	399

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		a glorious Retreat, which is admirably described by <i>Xenophon</i> .		
3550	xcv. 1.	The Death of <i>Socrates</i> .	353	398
A G E S I L A U S				
3553	4.	W AS younger than <i>Lyfander</i> , who was his Lover. Ascends the <i>Spartan</i> Throne after the Death of his Brother <i>Agis</i> .	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Sends <i>Lyfander</i> into the <i>Hellefont</i> .	357	394
3555	2.	<i>Agésilau</i> s overthrows the <i>Persian</i> Horse. The Death of <i>Lyfander</i> .	358	393
3561	xcvii. 4.	The <i>Romans</i> overthrown at <i>Allia</i> .	364	387
C A M I L L U S				
3562	xcviii. 1.	R etires to <i>Ardea</i> .	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	The Birth of <i>Aristotle</i> .	369	382
3569	4.	The Birth of <i>Demosthenes</i> .	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	<i>Chabrias</i> defeats the <i>Lacedamonians</i> .	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace concluded between the <i>Ashe-</i> <i>nians</i> and <i>Lacedamonians</i> .	382	369
The same Year happened the famous Battel at <i>Leuctra</i> , wherein the <i>Laceda-</i> <i>monians</i> , under the Conduct of <i>Cleom-</i> <i>brotus</i> , were defeated by the <i>Thebans</i> , who were commanded by <i>Epaminondas</i> . <i>Cleombrotus</i> fell in the Action.				
P E L O P I D A S,				
3580	ciii. 3.	T HE <i>Theban</i> General. He commanded the sacred Band at <i>Leuctra</i> .	383	368
3582	ciii. 1.	<i>Dionysius</i> the Elder dies, and is suc- ceeded in the Tyranny by his Son <i>Dio-</i> <i>nysius</i> the younger.	385	366
3584	3.	<i>Isocrates</i> flourished, being much younger than <i>Plato</i> .	387	364
T I M O L E O N				
3585	civ. 4.	K ills his Brother <i>Timophanes</i> , who aimed at the Tyranny of <i>Corinth</i> .	388	363

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3586	CIV. 11.	<i>Pelopidas</i> overthrows <i>Alexander</i> Ty- rant of <i>Phera</i> , but is slain himself in the Action.	389	361
3587	2.	The famous Battel of <i>Mantineæ</i> , wherein <i>Epaminondas</i> prevailed, but was slain by the Son of <i>Xenophon</i> the Histo- rian.	380	361
3588	3.	<i>Camillus</i> dies.	391	360
3589	4.	The Death of <i>Artaxerxes</i> . <i>Agésilas</i> dies the same Year.	392	359
D I O N.				
3593	CV. 4.	H E drives <i>Dionysius</i> the younger out of <i>Sicily</i> .	396	355
3594	CVL. 1.	The Birth of <i>Alexander the Great</i> .	397	354
3596	3.	<i>Dion</i> assassinated by <i>Calippus</i> .	399	352
D E M O S T H E N E S				
3598	CVII. 1.	B egins to declaim against <i>Philip</i> .	401	350
3602	CVIII. 1.	The Death of <i>Plato</i> .	405	346
3605	4.	<i>Timoleon</i> sent into <i>Sicily</i> to the Assi- stance of <i>Syracuse</i> .	408	343
3607	CIX. 2.	<i>Dionysius</i> the younger sent to <i>Corinth</i> .	410	341
3609	4.	The Birth of <i>Epicurus</i> .	412	339
3610	CX. 1.	<i>Timoleon</i> overthrows the <i>Carthagini- ans</i> in a great Battel.	413	338
3612	3.	The famous Battel at <i>Charonea</i> , wherein the <i>Thebans</i> and <i>Athenians</i> were overthrown by <i>Philip</i> . His Son <i>Alexander</i> had the Command of one of the Wings.	415	336
3613	4.	The Death of <i>Timoleon</i> .	416	335
A L E X A N D E R the Great				
3614	CXI. 1.	D eclared General of all <i>Greece</i> a- gainst the <i>Persians</i> , upon the Death of his Father <i>Philip</i> .	417	334
3616	3.	The Battel of <i>Granicus</i> .	419	332
3619	CXII. 2.	The Battel of <i>Arbela</i> .	422	329
3623	CXIII. 2.	<i>Porus</i> vanquished.	426	325

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3627	CXIV. 1.	The Death of <i>Alexander</i> .	430	321
PHOCION				
3632	CXV. 3.	R etires to <i>Polyperchon</i> , by whom he is betrayed, and delivered up to the <i>Athenians</i> , who put him to Death.	435	316
EUMENES				
3634	CXVI. 1.	W AS One of <i>Alexander's</i> chief Commanders, and had served under <i>Philip</i> . He is betrayed to <i>Antigonus</i> , who puts him to death.	437	314
DEMETRIUS,				
3636	CXVI. 3.	S urnamed <i>Poliorectes</i> , or the Taker of <i>Cities</i> , Son of <i>Antigonus</i> , left in <i>Syria</i> at the Head of the Army when he was no more than 22 Years old.	439	312
3643	CXVIII. 2.	He restores the <i>Athenians</i> to their Liberty.	446	305
PYRRHUS,				
3670	CXXV. 1.	K ing of <i>Epire</i> , Cotemporary with <i>Demetrius</i> , passeth over into <i>Italy</i> , where he is defeated by <i>Lavinus</i> the Consul.	473	278
3685	CXXVIII. 4.	The first <i>Punick</i> War, which held twenty four Years.	488	263
3696	CXXXI. 3.	The Birth of <i>Philopæmen</i> .	499	252
ARATUS,				
3699	CXXXII. 1.	O f <i>Sicyon</i> , Delivers his Country from the Tyranny of <i>Nicocles</i> .	502	249
AGIS and CLEOMENES,				
3723	CXXXVIII. 2.	C otemporary with <i>Aratus</i> , who was overthrown by <i>Cleomenes</i> .	526	225

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.	PHILOPOEMEN.	A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3727	CXXXIX. 2.	W AS Thirty Years old when <i>Claomenes</i> took the City of <i>Megalopolis</i> . At the same time lived <i>Hannibal</i> , <i>Marcellus</i> , <i>Fabius Maximus</i> , and <i>Scipio Africanus</i> .	530	221
3731	CXL. 2.	The second <i>Punick</i> War, which lasted Eighteen Years.	534	217
3733	4.	<i>Hannibal</i> overthrows the Consul <i>Flaminius</i> at the <i>Thrasymene</i> Lake.	536	215
3734	CXLI. 1.	And the Consuls <i>Varro</i> , and <i>L. Æmilius</i> at <i>Canna</i> .	537	214
3736	3.	Beaten by <i>Marcellus</i> at <i>Nola</i> .	539	212
3738	CXLII. 1.	<i>Marcellus</i> takes <i>Syracuse</i> .	541	210
3741	4.	<i>Fabius Maximus</i> makes himself Master of <i>Tarentum</i> .	544	207
3747	CXLIV. 2.	The Death of <i>Fabius Maximus</i> .	550	201
3749	4.	<i>Scipio</i> triumphs for the Conquest of <i>Africa</i> .	552	199
T. QUINTUS FLAMINIVS				
3752	CXLV. 3.	D Eclared Consul before he was thirty Years old.	555	196
C A T O the Censor				
L ived at the same time, for he was with <i>Fabius Maximus</i> at the taking of <i>Tarentum</i> , when he was about twenty one or twenty two Years of Age.				
3754	CXLVI. 1.	<i>Greece</i> restored to her Liberty by T. 2. <i>Flaminius</i> .	557	194
3755	2.	<i>Cato</i> triumphs for his Conquests in <i>Spain</i> .	558	193
3766	CXLIX. 1.	<i>Scipio Africanus</i> dies.	569	182
3767	2.	<i>Philopoemen</i> dies. In the same Year was the first Consul-ate of	570	181

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
PAULUS ÆMILIUS				
3782	CLIII. 1.	THE Son of <i>Lucius Æmilius</i> , who was defeated by <i>Hannibal</i> at <i>Canna</i> . In his second Consulate he overthrew <i>Perseus</i> , and took him Prisoner. <i>Judas Macabeus</i> lived and <i>Terence</i> flourished at the same time.	585	166
5790	CLV. 1.	<i>Æmilius</i> dies.	593	158
3794	CLVI. 1.	The Birth of <i>Marius</i> .	597	154
3801	CLVII. 4.	The Third Punic War, which lasted four Years.	604	147
3804	CLVIII. 3.	The Death of <i>Cato the Censor</i> . <i>Scipio the Younger</i> , Son of <i>Paulus Æmilius</i> , destroys <i>Carthage</i> .	607	144
TIBERIUS, and CAIUS GRACCHI.				
3827	CLXIV. 2.	THE Laws of <i>Caius Gracchus</i> .	630	121
MARIUS				
3843	CLXVIII. 2.	GOES into <i>Africa</i> against <i>Jugurtha</i> . The Birth of <i>Cicero</i> .	646	105
3844	3.	The Birth of <i>Pompey</i> .	647	104
3846	CLXIX. 1.	<i>Marius</i> in his second Consulate is sent against the <i>Cimbri</i> .	649	102
3850	CLXX. 1.	The Birth of <i>Julius Cæsar</i> under the sixth Consulate of <i>Marius</i> .	653	98
SYLLA				
3855	CLXXI. 2.	SENT into <i>Cappadocia</i> at the Expiration of his Prætorship.	658	93
3862	CLXXIII. 1.	Makes himself Master of <i>Rome</i> .	665	86
3863	2.	And of <i>Athens</i> . <i>Marius</i> dies the same Year.	666	85
SERTORIUS				
3867	CLXXIV. 2.	SENT into <i>Spain</i> .	670	81
3868	3.	The younger <i>Marius</i> overthrown by <i>Sylla</i> , who soon after defeats <i>Pontius</i>	671	80

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		<i>Telephus</i> at the Gates of <i>Rome</i> . He enters the City, is created Dictator, and exerciseth all manner of Cruelties.		
		MARCUS CRASSUS		
		Enricheth himself out of the Estates of Those, who had been proscribed by <i>Sylla</i> . He was older than <i>Pompey</i> .		
		POMPEY		
3869	CLXXIV. 4.	Sent into <i>Africk</i> at twenty five Years of Age, and defeats <i>Domitius</i> .	672	79
		CATO of UTICA		
		Was younger than <i>Pompey</i> ; for he was but fourteen Years old when <i>Sylla</i> was in the Height of his Cruelties.		
		CICERO		
3870	CLXXV. 1.	Defends <i>Roscius</i> , oppressed under-hand by <i>Sylla</i> .	673	78
3871	2.	<i>Sylla</i> abdicates the Dictatorship, and dies the Year following.	674	77
3874	CLXXVI. 1.	<i>Pompey</i> engageth <i>Sertorius</i> in <i>Spain</i> .	677	74
		LUCULLUS		
3877	CLXXVI. 4.	Sent against <i>Mithridates</i> at the Expiration of his Consulship.	680	71
3879	CLXXVII. 2.	<i>Sertorius</i> assassinated in <i>Spain</i> . <i>Crassus</i> Consul with <i>Pompey</i> .	682	69
3881	4.	<i>Tigranes</i> overthrown by <i>Lucullus</i> .	684	67
3887	CLXXIX. 2.	The Death of <i>Mithridates</i> . <i>Pompey</i> forceth the Temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Augustus</i> born.	690	61
		JULIUS CÆSAR		
3891	CLXXX. 2.	Declared Consul with <i>Bibulus</i> , obtains <i>Illyrium</i> , and the two <i>Gauls</i>	694	57

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		with four Legions. Marries his Daughter <i>Julia</i> to <i>Pompey</i> .		
3897	CLXXXI. 4.	<i>Crassus</i> taken, and slain by the <i>Parthians</i> .	700	51
3902	CLXXXIII. 1.	<i>Caesar</i> defeats <i>Pompey</i> in the Plains of <i>Pharsalia</i> . <i>Pompey</i> flies into <i>Ægypt</i> , where he is murdered.	705	46
3903	2.	<i>Caesar</i> makes himself Master of <i>Alexandria</i> , subdues <i>Egypt</i> , goes into <i>Syria</i> , marcheth against <i>Pharnaces</i> King of <i>Pontus</i> , and defeats him.	706	45
3904	3.	He overthrowes <i>Juba</i> , <i>Scipio</i> , and <i>Petereius</i> in <i>Africk</i> , and obtains four Triumphs. <i>Cato</i> kills himself at <i>Utica</i> .	707	44
3905	4.	<i>Caesar</i> defeats <i>Pompey's</i> Sons at <i>Munda</i> in <i>Spain</i> . <i>Cneius</i> falls in the Action, and <i>Sextus</i> flies into <i>Sicily</i> . <i>Caesar</i> triumphs for the fifth time.	708	43
B R U T U S.				
3906	CLXXXIV. 1.	C ÆSAR is killed by <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> .	709	42
3907	2.	<i>Brutus</i> marcheth into <i>Macedonia</i> .	710	41
M. ANTONIUS				
		O Verthrown the same Year by <i>Augustus</i> at <i>Modena</i> . He retires towards <i>Lepidus</i> . The Triumvirate of <i>Augustus</i> , <i>Antony</i> , and <i>Lepidus</i> , who divide the Empire between them.		
3908	3.	The Battel at <i>Philippi</i> , where <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> being overthrown by <i>Augustus</i> and <i>Antony</i> , lay violent Hands on themselves.	711	40
3909	4.	<i>Antony</i> confederates with <i>Sextus Pompeius</i> against <i>Augustus</i> .	712	39
3910	CLXXXV. 1.	<i>Augustus</i> and <i>Antony</i> are reconciled after the Death of <i>Fulvia</i> the Wife of <i>Antony</i> , who thereupon marries <i>Octavia</i> , <i>Caesar's</i> Sister.	713	38
3918	CLXXXVII. 1.	New Grounds of War between <i>Augustus</i> and <i>Antony</i> .	721	30

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3919	CLXXXVII. 2.	The Battel at <i>Actium</i> , where <i>Antony</i> is defeated, and flies with <i>Cleopatra</i> into <i>Egypt</i> .	722	29
3920	3.	<i>Augustus</i> makes himself Master of <i>Alexandria</i> . <i>Antony</i> kills himself, and <i>Cleopatra</i> follows his Example.	723	28
G A L B A.				
3947	CXCIV. 2.	<i>G</i> alba born in the same Year with <i>Jesus Christ</i> .	750	1
3981	CCII. 4.	The Birth of <i>Otho</i> .	784	34
3982	CCIII. 1.	<i>Galba</i> Consul.	785	35
4018	CCXI. 4.	The Revolt of <i>Vindex</i> . <i>Nero</i> killed, and <i>Galba</i> declared Emperor.	820	70
O T H O				
4019	CCXII. 1.	<i>R</i> evolts against <i>Galba</i> , kills him, and seizeth on the Empire. Three Months after which he is overthrown by <i>Vitellius</i> , and kills himself.	821	71



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G. P. de Guiche Scul.



THE
L I F E
O F
P L U T A R C H.

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

I Know not by what Fate it comes to pass, that Historians, who give Immortality to others, are so ill requited by Posterity, that their Actions and their Fortunes are usually forgotten; neither themselves encourag'd while they live, nor their Memory preserv'd entire to future Ages. 'Tis the Ingratitude of Mankind to their greatest Benefactors, that they, who teach us Wisdom by the surest ways, (setting before us what we ought to shun, or to pursue, by the Examples of the most Famous Men whom they record, and by the Experience of their Faults and Virtues) should generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the publick, and had no interest in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like Tapers, and to waste themselves for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general,

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and the Custom has been too long establish'd to be remedied ; neither does it wholly reach our Author : He was born in an Age, which was sensible of his Virtue ; and found a *Trajan* to reward him, as *Aristotle* did an *Alexander*. But the Historians, who succeeded him, have either been too envious, or too careless of his Reputation ; none of them, not even his own Countrymen, having given us any particular account of him ; or if they have, yet their Works are not transmitted to us : so that we are forc'd to glean from *Plutarch*, what he has scatter'd in his Writings concerning himself, and his Original. Which (excepting that little Memorial, that *Suidas*, and some few others, have left concerning him) is all we can collect, relating to this Great Philosopher and Historian.

He was born at *Cheronea*, a small City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both Seas. The Climate not much befriended by the Heavens ; for the Air is thick and foggy ; and consequently the Inhabitants partaking of its influence, gross Feeders, and fat-witted ; brawny, and unthinking, just the Constitution of Heroes : Cut out for the Executive and brutal business of War ; but so stupid in the Designing part, that in all the Revolutions of *Greece* they were never Masters, but only in those few years, when they were led by *Epaminondas*, or *Pelopidas*. Yet this foggy Air, this Country of fat Weathers, as *Juvenal* calls it, produc'd three Wits, which were comparable to any three *Athenians* : *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and our *Plutarch*, to whom we may add a fourth, *Sextus Cheroneusis*, the Præceptor of the Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* ; and the Nephew of our Author.

Cheronea (if we may give credit to *Pausanias*, in the ninth Book of his Description of *Greece*) was antiently call'd *Arnè*, from *Arnè* the Daughter of *Æolus* ;

Æolus; but being situated to the West of *Parnassus* in that low-land Country, the natural unwholsomness of the Air was augmented by the Evening Vapours cast upon it from that Mountain, which our late Travellers describe to be full of moisture and marshy Ground inclos'd in the inequality of its Ascents: And being also expos'd to the Winds which blew from that quarter, the Town was perpetually unhealthful; for which reason, says my Author, *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Thero*, made it be re-built, and turn'd it towards the rising Sun: From whence the Town became healthful, and consequently populous: in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retain'd his name. But as *Ety-mologies* are uncertain, and the *Greeks*, above all Nations, given to fabulous derivations of Names, especially when they tend to the Honour of their Country, I think we may be reasonably content to take the denomination of the Town, from its delightful or chearful standing; as the word *Chæron* sufficiently implies.

But to lose no time in these Grammatical *Ety-mologies*, which are commonly uncertain guesses, 'tis agreed that *Plutarch* was here born; the year uncertain, but without dispute in the Reign of *Claudius*.

Job. Gerrard Vossius has assign'd his Birth in the latter end of that Emperor: Some other Writers of his Life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of *Nero's* Empire: But the most accurate *Rualdus* (as I find it in the *Paris* Edition of *Plutarch's* Works) has manifestly prov'd him to be born in the middle time of *Claudius*, or somewhat lower. For *Plutarch* in the Inscription at *Delphos*, of which more hereafter, remembers that *Ammonius* his Master disputed with him and his Brother *Lamprias* concerning it, when *Nero* made his Progress into Greece, which

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was in his twelfth year; and the Question disputed cou'd not be manag'd with so much learning as it was by mere Boys; therefore he was then sixteen, or rather eighteen years of Age.

Xylander has observ'd, that *Plutarch* himself, in the Life of *Pericles*, and that of *Anthony*, has mention'd both *Nero*, and *Domitian*, as his Contemporaries. He has also left it on Record in his *Symposiaques*, that his Family was ancient in *Chæroneæ*; and that for many Descents, they had born the most considerable Offices in that petty Commonwealth. The chiefest of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongst the *Grecians*; by that of *Prætor Urbis* among the *Romans*; and the Dignity and Power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of *London*. His Great Grandfather *Nicarchus* perhaps enjoy'd that Office in the division of the Empire betwixt *Augustus Cæsar* and *Mark Anthony*. And when the Civil Wars ensued betwixt them, *Chæroneæ* was so hardly us'd by *Anthony's* Lieutenant, or Commissary there, that all the Citizens without exception were servilely employ'd to carry on their shoulders a certain proportion of Corn from *Chæroneæ*, to the Coast overagainst the Island of *Antycira*, with the Scourge held over them, if at any time they were remiss: Which Duty after once performing, being enjoin'd the second time with the same severity, just as they were preparing for their Journey, the welcome News arriv'd, that *Mark Anthony* had lost the Battle of *Actium*; whereupon both the Officers and Soldiers, belonging to him in *Chæroneæ*, immediately fled for their own Safety; and the Provisions thus collected were distributed among the Inhabitants of the City.

This

P L U T A R C H.

5

This *Nicarchus*, the Great Grandfather of *Plutarch*, among other Sons, had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning; and a Philosopher, of whom *Plutarch* has made frequent mention in his *Symposiaques*, or *Table Conversations*; and amongst the rest, there is this Observation of him, that he disputed best, and unravel'd the difficulties of Philosophy with most success when he was at Supper, and well warm'd with Wine. These Table Entertainments were part of the Education of those times, their Discourses being commonly the Canvassing and Solution of some Question, either Philosophical or Philological, always instructive, and usually pleasant: for the Cups went round with the Debate; and Men were merry and wise together, according to the Proverb. The Father of *Plutarch* is also mention'd in those Discourses, whom our Author represents as arguing of several points in Philosophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he speaks of him, as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry, as may appear by what he says, when he is introduc'd disputing in the *Symposiaques*; where also his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following Relation. Being yet very young (says *Plutarch*) I was join'd in commission with another in an Embassy to the *Proconsul*, and my Colleague falling sick was forced to stay behind, so that the whole business was transacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the Common-wealth of my Proceedings, my Father rising from his Seat, openly enjoin'd me not to name my self in the singular number, *I did thus, or thus, I said to the Proconsul; but thus we did, and thus we said*, always associating my Companion with me, tho' absent in the management: This was done to observe, as I suppose,

the point of good manners with his Collegue, that of respect to the Government of the City, who had commission'd both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more especially to take off the forwardness of a pert young Minister, commonly too apt to over-value his own service, and to quote himself on every inconsiderable occasion. The Father of *Plutarch* had many Children besides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias*, his Brothers, were bred up with him, all three instructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all parts of Philosophy. 'Tis manifest from our Author, that they liv'd together in great Friendliness, and in great Veneration to their Grandfather, and Father. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon*, may be gather'd from these words of his. *As for my self, tho' Fortune on several occasions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation so great to her, as the Kindness and entire Friendship, which my Brother Timon has always born, and still bears me: And this is so evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance.* *Lamprias*, the youngest of the three, is introduc'd by him in his *Morals*, as one of a sweet and pleasant Conversation, inclin'd to Mirth and Rallery; or, as we say in *English*, a well-humour'd Man, and a good Companion. The whole Family being thus addicted to Philosophy, 'tis no wonder if our Author was initiated betimes in Study, to which he was naturally inclin'd. In pursuit of which he was so happy, to fall into good hands at first; being recommended to the care of *Ammonius* an *Egyptian*, who, having taught Philosophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, settled himself at last in *Athens*, where he was well receiv'd, and generally respected. At the end of *Themistocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Pensioner

sioner in the House of this *Ammonius*; and in his *Symposiaques* he brings him in disputing with his Scholars, and giving them Instruction. For the Custom of those times was very much different from these of ours, where the greatest part of our Youth is spent in learning the words of dead Languages. The *Grecians*, who thought all *Barbarians* but themselves, despis'd the use of Foreign Tongues; that the first Elements of their breeding was the knowledge of Nature, and the accommodation of that knowledge by Moral Precepts, to the service of the Publick, and the private Offices of Virtue. The Masters imploying one part of their time in reading to, and discoursing with their Scholars; and the rest, in appointing them their several Exercises, either in Oratory or Philosophy, and setting them to declaim and to dispute amongst themselves. By this liberal sort of Education, Study was so far from being a burden to them, that in a short time it became a Habit; and Philosophical Questions, and Criticisms of Humanity, were their usual recreations at their Meals. Boys liv'd then as the better sort of Men do now; and their Conversation was so well-bred and manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth into the World, when they grew up; but slid easily into it, and found no alteration in their Company. Amongst the rest, the Reading and Quotations of Poets were not forgotten at their Suppers, and in their Walks; but *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were the Entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and Ferula's were not us'd by *Ammonius*, as being properly the punishment of Slaves, and not the Correction of ingenious Free-born Men. At least to be only exercis'd by Parents, who had the power of Life and Death over their own Children. As appears by the Example of this *Ammonius*, thus related by our Author,

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Our Master (says he) one time perceiving at his Afternoon Lecture, that some of his Scholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of Students, immediately commanded one of his Free Men to take his own Son, and scourge him in our sight; because, said the Philosopher, my young Gentleman cou'd not eat his Dinner without Poynant Sauce, or Vinegar; and at the same time he cast his eye on all of us: So that every Criminal was given to understand, that he had a share in the reprehension, and that the punishment was as well deserv'd by all the rest, had the Philosopher not known, that it exceeded his Commission to inflict it.

Plutarch therefore having the assistance of such a Master, in few years advanced to admiration in knowledge: And that without first travelling into Foreign Parts, or acquiring any Foreign Tongue; tho' the *Roman* Language at that time was not only vulgar in *Rome* it self, but generally through the extent of that vast Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it, as our Author has remark'd towards the end of his *Platonick* Questions. For like a true Philosopher, who minded things, not words, he strove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great exactness. And himself confesses in the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, he had neither the leisure to study, nor so much as to exercise the *Roman* Language, (I suppose he means to write in it, rather than to speak it) as well by reason of the affairs he manag'd, as that he might acquit himself to those who were desirous to be instructed by him in Philosophy. In so much, that till the declination of his Age, he began not to be conversant in Latin Books; in reading of which it happen'd somewhat oddly to him, that he learnt not the knowledge of things by words; but by the understanding and use he had

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had of things, attain'd to the knowledge of words which signified them. Just as *Adam* (setting aside Divine Illumination) call'd the Creatures by their proper Names, by first understanding their Natures. But for the delicacies of the Tongue, the turns of the Expression, the Figures and Connections of Words, in which consists the Beauty of that Language, he plainly tells us, that tho' he much admir'd them, yet they requir'd too great labour for a Man in Age, and plung'd in Business, to attain perfectly. Which Compliment I should be willing to believe from a Philosopher, if I did not consider, that *Dion Cassius*, nay even *Herodian* and *Appian* after him, as well as *Polybius* before him, by writing the *Roman* History in the *Greek* Language, had shewn as manifest a contempt of *Latin*, in respect of the other, as *French* Men now do of *English*, which they disdain to speak while they live among us: But with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the discourse into their own Language, have learnt to despise our better thoughts, which must come deform'd and lame in Conversation to them, as being transmitted in a Tongue of which we are not Masters. This is to arrogate a Superiority in Nature over us, as undoubtedly the *Grecians* did over their Conquerors, by establishing their Language for a Standard; it being become so much a mode to speak and write *Greek* in *Tully's* time, that with some indignation I have read his Epistles to *Atticus*, in which he desires to have his own Consulship written by his Friend in the *Grecian* Language, which he afterwards perform'd himself; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any Man to endeavour to excel in a Tongue which he was not born to speak. This, tho' it be digression, yet deserves to be consider'd at more leisure; for the Honour of Wit and Writings, which

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which are of a more solid make than that of our Neighbours, is concern'd in it. But to return to *Plutarch*; as it was his good fortune to be moulded first by Masters the most excellent in their kind, so it was his own Virtue, to suck in with an incredible desire, and earnest application of Mind, their wise Instructions; and it was also his Prudence so to manage his Health by moderation of Diet and bodily Exercise, as to preserve his Parts without decay to a great old Age; to be lively and vigorous to the last, and to preserve himself to his own Enjoyments, and to the profit of Mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having receiv'd from Nature a Constitution capable of labour, and from the Domestick Example of his Parents, a sparing sobriety of diet, a temperance in other Pleasures, and above all, a Habitude of commanding his Passions in order to his Health. Thus principled and grounded, he consider'd with himself, that a larger Communication with Learned Men was necessary for his accomplishment; and therefore, having a Soul insatiable of Knowledge, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of Science, he took up a resolution to Travel. *Egypt* was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning; and probably the Mysteriousness of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converse with the Priesthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his business by the Treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, which he has left us: In which he shews himself not meanly vers'd in the ancient Theology and Philology of those wise Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he visited in his way all the Academies, or Schools of the several Philosophers, and gather'd from them many of those
Obser-

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Observations with which he has enrich'd Posterity.

Besides this, he apply'd himself, with extream diligence, to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their kind, and already publish'd, but also all Sayings and Discourses of wise Men, which he had heard in Conversation, or which he had receiv'd from others by Tradition: as likewise the Records and publick Instruments, preserv'd in Cities, which he had visited in his Travels; and which he afterwards scatter'd through his Works. To which purpose he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to search the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to understand thoroughly the Model of their ancient Government, their Legislators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digesting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with so much care, that he has not omitted those even of their Women, or their private Soldiers; together with their Customs, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the manner of their publick and private living, both in Peace and War. The same methods he also took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives and his *Greek* and *Roman* Questions sufficiently testify. Without these helps it had been impossible for him to leave in writing so many particular Observations of Men and Manners, and as impossible to have gather'd them, without Conversation and Commerce with the learned Antiquaries of his time. To these he added a curious Collection of ancient Statues, Medals, Inscriptions, and Paintings, as also of proverbial Sayings, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apothegms, and other Ornaments of History, that he might leave nothing unswept behind him. And as he was continually in company with Men of Learning in all Professions, so his Memory was always on the stretch, to receive and lodge their Discourses;

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Discourses ; and his Judgment perpetually employ'd in separating his Notions, and distinguishing which were fit to be preserv'd, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in little time he enlarg'd his knowledge to a great extent in every Science : Himself, in the beginning of the *Treatise* which he has compos'd of *Content and Peace of Mind*, makes mention of those Collections, or Common-places, which he had long since drawn together for his own particular occasions : And 'tis from this rich Cabinet that he has taken out those excellent pieces which he has distributed to Posterity, and which give us occasion to deplore the loss of the residue, which either the injury of Time, or the negligence of Copiers have denied to us. On this account, tho' we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no sort of learning, yet we may justly add this farther, that whoever will consider through the whole body of his Works, either the design, the method, or the contexture of his Discourses, whether Historical or Moral, or Questions of natural Philosophy, or Solutions of Problems Mathematical ; whether he arraigns the Opinions of other Sects, or establishes the Doctrines of his own : in all these kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of easiness ; his reasons so solid and convincing, his inductions so pleasant and agreeable to all sorts of Readers, that it must be acknowledg'd he was Master of every Subject which he treated, and treated none but what were improveable to the benefit of Instruction. For we may perceive in his Writing, the desire he had to imprint his Precepts in the Souls of his Readers ; and to lodge Morality in Families, nay even to exalt it to the Thrones of Sovereign Princes, and to make it the Rule and Measure

Measure of their Government. Finding that there were many Sects of Philosophers then in vogue, he search'd into the foundation of all their Principles and Opinions; and not content with this disquisition, he trac'd them to their several Fountains. So that the *Pythagorean*, *Epicurean*, *Stoick*, and *Peripatetick* Philosophy, were familiar to him. And tho' it may be easily observ'd, that he was chiefly inclin'd to follow *Plato* (whose Memory he so much reverenc'd, that annually he celebrated his Birth-day, and also that of *Socrates*;) yet he modestly contained himself within the bounds of the latter Academy, and was content, like *Cicero*, only to propound and weigh Opinions, leaving the Judgment of his Readers free, without presuming to decide dogmatically. Yet it is to be confess'd, that in the midst of this moderation, he oppos'd the two extreams of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Sects: Both of which he has judiciously combated in several of his Treatises, and both upon the same account, because they pretend too much to Certainty in their Dogma's, and to impose them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the Academists) doubted more and pretended less, was no way able to support. The *Pyrrhonians*, or grosser sort of *Scepticks*, who bring all Certainty in question, and startle even at the notions of Common sense, appear'd as absurd to him on the other side; for there is a kind of Positiveness in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his Academy avoided by inclining the ballance to that hand, where the most weighty reasons, and probability of truth were visible. The Moral Philosophy therefore was his chiefest aim, because the Principles of it admitted of less doubt; and because they were most conducing to the benefit of Human Life. For, after the example of *Socrates*, he had
found

found that the speculations of Natural Philosophy were rather delightful than solid and profitable; that they were abstruse and thorny, and had much of *Sophism* in the solution of appearances: That the Mathematicks indeed could reward his pains with many demonstrations; but tho' they made him wiser, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attain'd not the end of Happiness: For which reason, tho' he had far advanc'd in that Study, yet he made it but his recreation, not his business. Some Problem of it was his usual diversion at Supper, which he mingled also with pleasant and more light discourses. For he was no sour Philosopher, but pass'd his time as merrily as he cou'd, with reference to Virtue: He forgot not to be pleasant while he instructed; and entertain'd his Friends with so much chearfulness and good humour, that his Learning was not nauseous to them; neither were they afraid of his Company another time. He was not so austere as to despise Riches, but being in possession of a large Fortune, he liv'd, tho' not splendidly, yet plentifully; and suffer'd not his Friends to want that part of his Estate, which he thought superfluous to a Philosopher.

The Religion he profess'd, to speak the worst of it, was Heathen. I say the Religion he profess'd; for 'tis no way probable, that so great a Philosopher, and so wise a Man, should believe the Superstitions and Fopperies of *Paganism*: but that he accommodated himself to the Use, and receiv'd Customs of his Country. He was indeed a *Priest* of *Apollo*, as himself acknowledges, but that proves him not to have been a *Polytheist*.

I have ever thought, that the Wise-men in all Ages have not much differ'd in their Opinions of Religion; I mean as 'tis grounded on human Reason. For Reason, as far as it is right, must be the

same in all Men: And Truth being but one, they must consequently think in the same Train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the Religion of *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Plutarch*, was not different in the main: Who doubtless believ'd the Identity of one Supream Intellectual Being, which we call GOD. But because they who have written the Life of *Plutarch* in other Languages, are contented barely to assert, that our Author believ'd one God, without quoting those passages of his which wou'd clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongst many, in his *Morals*. The first is in his Book of the *Cessation of Oracles*; where arguing against the *Stoicks* (in behalf of the *Platonists*) who disputed against the plurality of Worlds with this Argument: *That if there were many Worlds, how then cou'd it come to pass, that there was one only Fate, and one Providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the Platonists, that there was but one:)* And why should not many Jupiters or Gods be necessary for the Government of many Worlds? To this *Plutarch* answers, *That this their capacious question was but trifling; For where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters, for this Plurality of Worlds? when one excellent Being, indued with Mind and Reason, such as he is, whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, is sufficient to direct and rule these Worlds; whereas if there were more Supream Agents, their Decrees must still be the more absurd and contradictory to one another.* I pretend not this Passage to be translated word for word, but 'tis the Sense of the whole, tho' the order of the Sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: 'Tis in his Comment on the Word *EI*, or those two Letters inscrib'd on the Gates of the Temple at *Delphos*: Where having given the several opinions concerning it, as first, that *ei* signifies *if*, because all the questions which were made to *Apollo* began

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began with *if*; as suppose they ask'd, *if* the Grecians should overcome the Persians; *if* such a Marriage should come to pass, &c. And afterwards, that $\epsilon\iota$ might signify *thou art*, as the second Person of the present Tense of $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$, intimating thereby the Being or perpetuity of Being belonging to *Apollo*, as a God; in the same sense that God express'd himself to *Moses*, *I am hath sent thee*; *Plutarch* subjoyns (as inclining to this latter opinion) these following words: $\epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\nu$, says he, signifies *Thou art One*, for there are not many Deities, but only one. Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate sense, as we say one Army, or one Body of Men, constituted of many individuals; but that which Is, must of necessity be One; and to Be, implies to be One. One is that which is a simple Being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: Therefore to be One in this sense, is only consistent with a Nature, pure in it self, and not capable of alteration, or decay.*

That he was no Christian is manifest: Yet he is no where found to have spoken with Contumely of our Religion, like the other Writers of his Age, and those who succeeded him. *Theodoret* says of him, *That he had heard of our Holy Gospel; and inserted many of our Sacred Mysteries in his Works*: which we may easily believe, because the Christian Churches were then spread in Greece; and *Pliny the Younger* was at the same time conversant amongst them in Asia, tho' that part of our Author's Works is not now extant, from whence *Theodoret* might gather those Passages. But we need not wonder, that a Philosopher was not easy to embrace the Divine Mysteries of our Faith. A modern God, as our Saviour was to him, was of hard digestion to a Man, who probably despis'd the vanities and fabulous relations of the old. Besides, a crucify'd Saviour of Mankind, a Doctrine attested by illiterate Disciples, the Author of it a

Jew,

Jew, whose Nation at that time was despicable, and his Doctrine but an innovation among that despis'd People, to which the Learned of his own Country gave no Credit, and which the Magistrates of his Nation punish'd with an ignominious death; the Scene of his Miracles acted in an obscure Corner of the World; his being from Eternity, yet born in Time, his Resurrection and Ascension, these and many more particulars might easily choke the Faith of a Philosopher, who believ'd no more than what he cou'd deduce from the Principles of Nature; and that too with a doubtful Academical assent, or rather an inclination to assent to probability: which he judg'd was wanting in this new Religion. These circumstances consider'd, tho' they plead not an absolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at least to a degree of it; for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weigh'd; and in both cases he must of necessity be ignorant, because he could not know without Revelation, and the Revelation was not to him. But leaving the Soul of *Plutarch*, with our charitable Wishes, to his Maker, we can only trace the rest of his Opinions in Religion from his Philosophy: Which we have said in the general to be *Platonick*; tho' it cannot also be denied, that there was a Tincture in it of the *Electick* Sect; which was begun by *Potamon* under the Empire of *Augustus*, and which selected from all the other Sects what seem'd most probable in their Opinions, not adhering singularly to any of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of Spirits. In his two Treatises of Oracles, the one concerning the reason of their Cessation, the other enquiring why they were not given in Verse, as in former times; he seems to assert the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. We have for-

merly shewn, that he own'd the Unity of a Godhead; whom, according to his Attributes, he calls by several names, as *Jupiter* from his Almighty Power, *Apollo* from his Wisdom, and so of the rest; but under him he places those Beings whom he styles *Genii* or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt Divine and Human. For he thinks it absurd, that there shou'd be no mean betwixt the two extreams, of an Immortal and a Mortal Being: That there cannot be in Nature so vast a flaw, without some intermedial kind of life, partaking of them both; as therefore we find the intercourse betwixt the Soul and Body to be made by the Animal Spirits, so betwixt Divinity and Humanity there is the species of *Dæmons*: Who, having first been Men, and following the strict Rules of Virtue, had purg'd off the grossness and sœculency of their Earthly Being, are exalted into these *Genii*, and are from thence either rais'd higher into an *Ætherial* Life, if they still continue virtuous, or tumbled down again into mortal Bodies, and sinking into flesh after they have lost that Purity, which constituted their glorious Being. And this sort of *Genii* are those, who, as our Author imagines, presided over Oracles: Spirits which have so much of their terrestrial Principles remaining in them, as to be subject to passions and inclinations, usually Beneficent, sometimes Malevolent to Mankind, according as they refine themselves, or gather dross, and are declining into Mortal Bodies. The Cessation, or rather the Decrease of Oracles, (for some of them were still remaining in *Plutarch's* time) he attributes either to the death of those *Dæmons*, as appears by the story of the *Egyptian Thamus*, who was commanded to declare, that the great God *Pan* was dead, or to their forsaking of those places, where they formerly gave out their Oracles; from whence they were driven by stronger *Genii*, into banishment for a certain

Revolution

Revolution of Ages. Of this last nature was the War of the Giants against the Gods, the dispossession of *Saturn* by *Jupiter*, the banishment of *Apollo* from Heaven, the fall of *Vulcan*, and many others; all which, according to our Author, were the Battles of these *Genii* or *Demons*, amongst themselves. But supposing, as *Plutarch* evidently does, that these Spirits administer'd, under the supreme Being, the affairs of Men, taking care of the Virtuous, punishing the Bad; and sometimes communicating with the best; as particularly, the Genius of *Socrates* always warn'd him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written *Plutarch's Life*, and particularly *Rualdus*, the most knowing of them all, should so confidently affirm, that these Oracles were given by bad Spirits, according to *Plutarch*: As Christians, indeed we may think them so; but that *Plutarch* so thought, is a most apparent falshood: 'Tis enough to convince a reasonable Man, that our Author in his old Age, (and that then he doted not, we may see by the Treatise he has written, that old Men ought to have the management of publick Affairs) I say, that then he initiated himself in the sacred Rites of *Delphos*; and died, for ought we know, *Apollo's Priest*. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that he thought the God he serv'd a *Cacodæmon*, or as we call him a *Devil*. Nothing could be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy Philosopher than so gross an impiety. The Story of the *Pythias*, or *Priestess* of *Apollo*, which he relates immediately before the ending of that Treatise, concerning the Cessation of Oracles, confirms my Assertion rather than shakes it: For 'tis there deliver'd, " That going with great reluctance into the sacred Place to be inspir'd, she came out foaming at the Mouth, her Eyes gog-

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" ling, her Breast heaving, her Voice undistin-
 " guishable and shrill, as if she had an Earthquake
 " within her, labouring for vent; and in short,
 " that thus tormented with the God, whom she
 " was not able to support, she died distracted in
 " few days after." For he had said before, that
 " the Devinerss ought to have no perturbations
 " of mind, or impure passions at the time when
 " she was to consult the Oracle; and if she had,
 " she was no more fit to be inspir'd, than an In-
 " strument untun'd, to render an harmonious
 " Sound:" And he gives us to suspect, by what he
 " says at the close of this Relation, " That this
 " *Pythias* had not liv'd chastly for some time be-
 " fore it. So that her death appears more like a
 " punishment inflicted for loose living by some
 " holy power, than the mere malignancy of a Spi-
 " rit delighted naturally in mischief." There is a-
 " nother Observation which indeed comes nearer to
 " their purpose, which I will digress so far as to re-
 " late, because it somewhat appertains to our own
 " Country: " There are many Islands (*says he*)
 " which lie scatter'd about *Britain*, after the man-
 " ner of our *Sporades*: They are unpeopled, and
 " some of them are call'd the Islands of the He-
 " roes, or the *Genii*. One *Demetrius* was sent by
 " the Emperor, (who by computation of the time
 " must either be *Caligula*, or *Claudius*) to discover
 " those parts, and arriving at one of the Islands next
 " adjoining to the foremention'd, which was inhabi-
 " ted by some few *Britains*, (but those held sacred
 " and inviolable by all their Country-men,) immedi-
 " ately after his arrival, the air grew black and trou-
 " bled, strange Apparitions were seen, the Winds
 " rais'd a Tempest, and fiery Spouts or Whirlwinds
 " appear'd dancing towards the Earth. When these
 " Prodigies were ceas'd, the Islanders inform'd him,
 " that some one of the aerial Beings, superiour to
 " our

our Nature, then ceas'd to live. For as a Taper, while yet burning, affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noisome and offensive when extinguish'd, so those Hero's shine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topsy turvy, raise up Tempests, and infect the air with pestilential Vapours. By those holy and inviolable men, there is no question but he means our *Druydes*, who are nearest to the *Pythagoreans* of any Sect; and this opinion of the *Genii* might probably be one of theirs: Yet it proves not that all *Dæmons* were thus malicious; only those who were to be condemn'd hereafter into human bodies, for their misdemeanours in their aerial Being. But 'tis time to leave a subject, so very fanciful, and so little reasonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural vapours arising in the Cave where the Temple afterwards was built, might work upon the Spirits of those who enter'd the holy place, as they did on the Shepherd *Coretas*, who first found it out by accident; and encline them to *Enthusiasm* and prophetick Madness. That as the strength of those Vapours diminish'd, (which were generally in Caverns, as that of *Mopsus*, of *Trophonius*, and this of *Delphos*) so the Inspiration decreas'd by the same measures: That they happen'd to be stronger, when they kill'd the *Pythias*, who being conscious of this, was so unwilling to enter. That the Oracles ceas'd to be given in Verse, when Poets ceas'd to be the Priests; and that the Genius of *Socrates* (whom he confess'd never to have seen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceiv'd by others) was no more than the strength of his imagination; or to speak in the Language of a Christian *Platonist*, his Guardian Angel.

I pretend not to an exactness of method in this Life, which I am forc'd to collect by patches from several Authors; and therefore without much re-

gard to the connection of times which are so uncertain.

I will in the next place speak of his Marriage. His Wife's name, her Parentage, and Dowry, are no where mention'd by him, or any other, nor in what part of his Age he married; though 'tis probable, in the flower of it: But *Rualdus* has ingeniously gather'd, from a convincing circumstance, that she was called *Timoxena*: Because *Plutarch*, in a Consolatory Letter to her, occasion'd by the Death of their Daughter in her Infancy, uses these words: *Your Timoxena is depriv'd (by death) of small enjoyments; for the things she knew were of small moment, and she could be delighted only with trifles.* Now it appears by the Letter, that the Name of this Daughter was the same with her Mother's, therefore it could be no other than *Timoxena*. Her Knowledge, her conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superstition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Constancy in supporting the loss of Children, are likewise celebrated by our Author. No other Wife of *Plutarch* is found mention'd; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: By the same reason for which we judge, that he had no other Master than *Ammonius*, because 'tis evident he was so grateful in his Nature, that he would have preserv'd their Memory.

The number of his Children was at least five; so many being mentioned by him. Four of them were Sons; of the other Sex only *Timoxena*, who died at two years old, as is manifest from the Epistle abovemention'd. The *French* Translator *Amiot*, from whom our old *English* Translation of the Lives was made, supposes him to have had another Daughter, where he speaks of his Son-in-Law *Crato*. But the word γαμβρὸς, which *Plutarch* there uses, is of a large signification; for it

may as well be expounded Father-in-Law, his Wife's Brother, or his Sister's Husband, as *Budeus* notes : This I the rather mention, because the same *Amiot* is task'd for an infinite number of mistakes, by his own Countrymen of the present Age; which is enough to recommend this Translation of our Author into the *English* Tongue, being not from any Copy, but from the *Greek* Original. Two other Sons of *Plutarch* were already deceas'd, before *Timoxena*. His eldest *Autobulus*, mention'd in his *Symposiaques*, and another whose Name is not recorded. The youngest was called *Charon*, who also died in his Infancy: The two remaining are suppos'd to have surviv'd him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own; and that of the other *Lamprias*, so call'd in memory of his Grandfather. This was he, of all his Children, who seems to have inherited his Father's Philosophy: And to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch's* Writings, and perhaps also the *Apothegms*. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Sister remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honour'd by that Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philosophy: This Emperor professing *Stoicism*, (as appears by his Writings) inclines us to believe, that our *Sextus Chæroneus* was of the *Stoick* Sect; and consequently, that the World has generally been mistaken, in supposing him to have been the same Man with *Sextus Empiricus* the *Sceptick*; whom *Suidas* plainly tells us to have been an *African*: Now *Empiricus* cou'd not but be a *Sceptick*, for he opposes all Dogmatists, and particularly them. But I heard it first observ'd by an Ingenious and Learned old Gentleman lately deceas'd, that many of Mr. *Hobbs* his seeming new Opinions, are gather'd from those which *Sextus Empiricus* expos'd. The Book is ex-

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tant, and I refer the Curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuse him. Some think the famous Critick *Longinus* was of *Plutarch's* Family, descended from a Sister of his; but the proofs are so weak, that I will not insert them: They may both of them rely on their proper merits; and stand not in want of a Relation to each other. 'Tis needless to insist on his Behaviour in his Family: His Love to his Wife, his Indulgence to his Children, his Care of their Education, are all manifest in that part of his Works which is call'd his Morals. Other parts of his Disposition have been touch'd already; as that he was courteous and humane to all Men; free from inconstancy, anger, and the desire of revenge: which qualities of his, as they have been prais'd by the Authority of other Writers, may also be recommended from his own Testimony of himself. *I had rather, says he, be forgotten in the memory of Men, and that it shou'd be said, there neither is, nor was a Man call'd Plutarch, than that they should report this Plutarch was unconstant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger and revenge on the least occasion.* What he was to his Slaves you may believe from this, that in general he accuses those Masters of extream hardness and injustice, who use Men like Oxen; sell them in their age, when they can drudge no longer. *A Man, says he, of a merciful disposition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his Cattle, nor the Provender from his Horses when they can work no longer, but to cherish them when worn out and old.* Yet *Plutarch*, tho' he knew how to moderate his anger, was not, on the contrary, subject to an insensibility of wrongs; not so remiss in exacting duty, or so tame in suffering the disobedience of his Servants, that he cou'd not correct when they deserv'd it: As is manifest from the following story, which *Aulus Gellius* had from the mouth

mouth of *Taurus* the Philosopher concerning him. Plutarch had a certain Slave, a saucy stubborn kind of Fellow; in a word, one of those pragmatical Servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reason for it: his justification one time wou'd not serve his turn, but his Master commanded him to be strip'd; and that the Law should be laid on his backside. He no sooner felt the smart, but he mutter'd that he was unjustly punish'd, and that he had done nothing to deserve the Scourge. At last he began to bawl out louder; and, leaving off his groaning, his sighs and his lamentations, to argue the matter with more shew of Reason; And as, under such a Master, he must needs have gain'd a smattering of Learning, he cry'd out, that Plutarch was not the Philosopher he pretended himself to be; that he had heard him waging War against all the passions, and maintaining that Anger was unbecoming a wise Man: Nay, that he had written a particular Treatise, in commendation of Clemency. That therefore he contradicted his Precepts by his Practices; since abandoning himself over to his Choler, he exercis'd such inhuman cruelty on the body of his Fellow-Creature. How's this, (Mr. Varlet) answer'd Plutarch, by what signs and tokens can you prove I am in passion? Is it by my Countenance, my Voice, the colour of my Face, by my Words, or by my Gestures, that you have discover'd this my Fury? I am not of opinion, that my Eyes sparkle, that I foam at Mouth, that I gnash my Teeth, or that my Voice is more vehement, or that my Colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either shake or stamp with madness, that I say or do any thing unbecoming a Philosopher: These, if you know them not, are the Symptoms of a Man in rage: in the mean time (turning to the Officer who scourg'd him) while he and I dispute this matter, mind you your business on his back.

His

His love to his Friends and his gratitude to his Benefactors are every where observable, in his Dedications of his several Works; and the particular Treatises he has written to them on several occasions, are all suitable either to the Characters of the Men, or to their present Condition, and the Circumstances under which they were. His love to his Country is from hence conspicuous, that he professes to have written the Life of *Lucullus*, and to have preserv'd the memory of his Actions, because of the favours he confer'd on the City of *Cheronea*; which tho' his Country receiv'd so long before, yet he thought it appertain'd to him to repay them, and took an interest in their acknowledgment. As also, that he vindicated the *Baotians* from the Calumnies of *Herodotus* the Historian, in his Book concerning the malignity of that Author. In which 'tis observable, that his zeal to his Country transported him too far; for *Herodotus* had said no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all Ages, concerning the grossness of their wits, their voracity, and those other national Vices, which we have already noted on this Account; therefore *Petrarch* has accus'd our Author of the same malignity, for which he tax'd *Herodotus*: But they may both stand acquitted on different accounts: *Herodotus* for having given a true Character of the *Thebans*, and *Plutarch* for endeavouring to palliate the Vices of a People from whom he was descended. The rest of his Manners, without entering into particulars, were unblamable, if we excuse a little proneness to Superstition; and regulating his Actions by his Dreams. But how far this will bear an accusation I determine not, tho' *Tully* has endeavour'd to shew the vanity of Dreams, in his Treatise of *Divinations*, whither I refer the Curious.

On

On what occasion he repair'd to *Rome*, at what time of his Age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he return'd to his own Country, are all uncertain: This we know, That when *Nero* was in *Greece*, which was in his eleventh and twelfth years, our Author was at *Delphos*, under *Ammonius*, his Master; as appears by the disputation then manag'd, concerning the Inscription of the two Letters E I. *Nero* not living long afterwards, 'tis almost indisputable, that he came not to *Rome* in all his Reign. 'Tis improbable that he wou'd undertake the Voyage during the troublesome times of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and we are not certain, that he liv'd in *Rome* in the Empire of *Vespasian*: Yet we may guess, that the mildness of this Emperor's Dominion, his Fame, and the Virtues of his Son *Titus*, assum'd into the Empire afterwards by his Father, might induce *Plutarch*, amongst other considerations, to take this Journey in his time. 'Tis argu'd from the following story, related by himself, that he was at *Rome*, either in the joint Reign of the two *Vespasians*; or at least in that of the Survivor *Titus*. He says then, in his last Book concerning *Curiosity*: " Reasoning, " or rather reading once at *Rome*, *Arulenus Rusticus*, the same Man whom afterwards *Domitian* " put to Death out of envy to his Glory, stood " hearkening to me amongst my Auditors: It so " happen'd that a Soldier, having Letters for " him from the Emperor, (who was either *Titus*, or his Father *Vespasian*, as *Rualdus* thinks) " broke " thro' the crowd, to deliver him those Letters " from the Emperor. Observing this, I made a " pause in my dissertation, that *Rusticus* might have " the leisure to read the Mandate which was sent " him; but he absolutely refus'd to do it, neither " wou'd he be intreated to break the Seals till I " had

“ had wholly made an end of my Speech, and
 “ dismiss’d the Company.” Now I suppose the
 stress of the Argument, to prove that this Empe-
 ror was not *Domitian*, lies only in this Clause
 (*whom Domitian afterwards put to death :*) but I
 think it rather leaves it doubtful, for they might
 be *Domitian’s* Letters which he then receiv’d, and
 consequently he might not come to *Rome* till the
 Reign of that Emperor. This *Rusticus* was not
 only a learned but a good Man : He had been
Tribune of the people under *Nero*, was *Prætor* in
 the time of *Vitellius*, and sent Ambassador to the
 Forces, rais’d under the Name of *Vespasian*, to
 persuade them to a Peace. What Offices he bore
 afterwards we know not, but the cause of his
 death, besides the envy of *Domitian* to his Fame,
 was a certain Book, or some Commentaries of his,
 wherein he had prais’d too much the Sanctity of
Thrasea Petus whom *Nero* had murder’d : And the
 praise of a good Citizen was insupportable to the
 Tyrant ; being, I suppose, exasperated farther by
 some reflections of *Rusticus*, who could not com-
 mend *Thrasea*, but at the same time he must in-
 veigh against the Oppressor of the *Roman* Liberty.
 That *Plutarch* was married in his own Country,
 and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable ;
 that the Fame of him was come before him, by
 reason of some part of his Works already publish’d,
 is also credible, because he had so great resort of
 the *Roman* Nobility, to hear him read imme-
 diately, as we believe, upon his coming : That he
 was invited thither by the correspondence he had
 with *Sossius Senecio*, might be one reason of his
 undertaking that Journey, is almost undeniable. It
 likewise appears he was divers times at *Rome* ; and
 perhaps, before he came to inhabit there, might
 make acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio*,
 to whom he Dedicated almost all these Lives of
 Greeks

Greeks and Romans. I say almost all, because one of them, namely that of *Aratus*, is inscrib'd in most express Words to *Polycrates* the *Sicyonian*, the great Grandson of the said *Aratus*. This worthy Patron and Friend of *Plutarch*, *Senecio*, was four times Consul; the first time in the short Reign of *Cocceius Nerva*, a virtuous and a learned Emperor; which opinion I rather follow than that of *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, who puts back his Consulship into the last of *Domitian*, because it is not probable that vicious Tyrant should exalt to that Dignity a Man of Virtue. This year falls in with the year of Christ ninety nine.

But the great inducement of our Author to this Journey, was certainly the desire he had to lay in materials for his *Roman Lives*; that was the design which he had form'd early, and on which he had resolv'd to build his Fame. Accordingly we have observ'd that he had travell'd over *Greece* to peruse the Archives of every City; that he might be able to write properly, not only the Lives of his *Grecian Worthies*, but the Laws, the Customs, the Rites and Ceremonies of every place. Which that he might treat with the same Mastery of skill, when he came to draw his *Parallels* of the *Romans*, he took the invitation of his Friends, and particularly of our *Sossius Senecio*, to visit this Mistress of the World, this imperial City of *Rome*; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to search the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furnish him with Instruments for so noble an undertaking. But that this may not seem to be my own bare Opinion, or that of any modern Author whom I follow, *Plutarch* himself has deliver'd it as his motive, in the life of *Demosthenes*: The words are these: "Whosoever designs to write a History, (which
" 'tis impossible to form to any excellency from those

“ those materials that are ready at hand, or to
 “ take from common report, while he sits lazily
 “ at home in his own Study, but must of neces-
 “ sity be gather’d from Foreign Observations, and
 “ the scatter’d Writings of various Authors) it
 “ concerns him to take up his Habitation in some
 “ renown’d and populous City, where he may
 “ command all sorts of Books, and be acquainted
 “ also with such particulars as have escap’d the
 “ Pens of Writers, and are only extant in the
 “ memories of Men. Let him inquire diligently,
 “ and weigh judiciously, what he hears and reads,
 “ lest he publish a lame Work, and be destitute
 “ of those helps which are requir’d to its perfecti-
 “ on.” ’Tis then most probable, that he pass’d his
 days at *Rome*, either in reading Philosophy of all
 kinds to the *Roman* Nobility, who frequented his
 House, and heard him, as if there were somewhat
 more than human in his words; and his Nights
 (which were his only hours of private Study) in
 searching and examining Records concerning *Rome*.
 Not but that he was intrusted also with the ma-
 nagement of publick Affairs in the Empire, during
 his residence in the Metropolis: Which may be
 made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch*
 (says he) *liv’d in the time of Trajan, and also before*
his Reign: That Emperor bestow’d on him the Dig-
nity of Consul, (tho’ the Greek, I suppose, will bear,
that he made him Consul with himself, at least
transfer’d that honour on him:) *An Edit was also*
made in favour of him, That the Magistrates or Of-
ficers of Illyria should do nothing in that Province
without the knowledge and approbation of Plutarch.
 Now ’tis my particular guess (for I have not read
 it any where) that *Plutarch* had the affairs of *Illyria*
 (now called *Sclavonia*) recommended to him; be-
 cause *Trajan*, we know, had Wars on that side the
 Empire, with *Decebalus* King of *Dacia*; after whose
 defeat

defeat and death, the Province of *Illyria* might stand in need of *Plutarch's* Wisdom to compose and civilize it. But this is only hinted, as what possibly might be the reason of our Philosopher's superintendency in those quarters; which the *French* Author of his Life seems to wonder at, as having no relation either to *Cheronea* or *Greece*.

When he was first made known to *Trajan*, is like the rest uncertain, or by what means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduc'd to his acquaintance: But 'tis most likely, that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, amongst others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis also thought, this wise Emperor made use of him in all his Counsels, and that the happiness which attended him in his undertakings, together with the administration of the Government, which in all his Reign was just and regular, proceeded from the instructions which were given him by *Plutarch*. *Johannes Sarisberiensis*, who liv'd above six hundred years ago, has transcrib'd a Letter written, as he suppos'd, by our Author to that Emperor: Whence he had it, is not known, nor the Original in *Greek* to be produc'd; but it pass'd for genuine in that Age, and if not *Plutarch's*, is at least worthy of him, and what might well be suppos'd a Man of his Character would write; for which reason I have here translated it.

Plutarch to Trajan.

I Am satisfied that your Modesty sought not the Empire, which yet you have always studied to deserve by the Excellency of your Manners. And by so much the more are you esteem'd worthy of this Honour, by how much you are free from the Ambition of desiring it. I therefore congratulate both your Virtue, and my own good Fortune, if at least your future Government shall

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shall prove answerable to your former Merit : Otherwise you have involv'd your self in Dangers, and shall infallibly be subject to the Censures of detraacting Tongues ; because Rome will never support an Emperor unworthy of her, and the Faults of the Scholar will be upbraided to the Master. Thus Seneca is reproach'd, and his Fame still suffers for the Vices of Nero. The Miscarriages of Quintilian's Scholars have been thrown on him, and even Socrates himself is not free from the Imputation of Remissness, on the account of his Pupil (Alcibiades). But you will certainly administer all things as becomes you, if you still continue what you are, if you recede not from your self, if you begin at home, and lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Passions, if you make Virtue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in Harmony and Order : I have set before you the force of Laws and Civil Constitutions of your Predecessors ; which if you imitate and obey, Plutarch is then your Guide of Living ; if otherwise, let this present Letter be my Testimony against you, that you shall not ruin the Roman Empire, under the pretence of the Counsel and Authority of Plutarch.

It may be conjectur'd, and with some shew of probability, from hence, that our Author not only collected his materials, but also made a rough draught of many of these parallel Lives at Rome, and that he read them to Trajan for his instruction in Government : and so much the rather I believe it, because all Historians agree, that this Emperor, tho' naturally prudent and inclin'd to Virtue, had more of the Soldier than the Scholar in his Education, before he had the Happiness to know *Plutarch* ; for which reason the *Roman Lives*, and the Inspection into antient Laws, might be of necessary use to his Direction. And now for the time of our Author's abode in the Imperial City ; if he
came

came so early as *Vespasian*, and departed not till after *Trajan's* Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, because gather'd from himself, that his Lives were almost the latest of his Works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having model'd, but not finish'd them at *Rome*, he afterwards resum'd the Work in his own Country; which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio* still living, as appears by what he has written, in the Proem to his Lives.

The desire of visiting his own Country, so natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age, (for he could not be much less than sixty) and perhaps also the Death of *Trajan*, prevail'd with him at last to leave *Italy*; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not willing his little City should be one the less by his absence*. After his return, he was, by the unanimous Consent of his Citizens, chosen *Archon*, or Chief Magistrate of *Chæronea*; and not long after admitted himself into the number of *Apollo's* Priests: in both which Employments he seems to have continu'd till his Death. Of which we have no particular Account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only 'tis evident, that he liv'd to a great old Age, always continuing his Studies: that he died a natural Death, is only presum'd, because any violent Accident to so famous a Man would have been recorded. And in whatsoever Reign he deceas'd, the days of Tyranny were over-pass'd, and there was then a golden Series of Emperors, every one emulating his Predecessor's Virtues.

Thus I have collected from *Plutarch* himself, and from the best Authors, what was most remarkable concerning him. In performing which, I have labour'd under so many Uncertainties, that I have not been able to satisfy my own Curiosity,

any more than that of others. 'Tis the Life of a Philosopher, not vary'd with Accidents to divert the Reader: More pleasant for himself to live, than for an Historian to describe. Those Works of his, which are irrecoverably lost, are nam'd in the Catalogue made by his Son *Lamprias*, which you will find in the *Paris* Edition, dedicated to King *Lewis* the Thirteenth; But 'tis a small Comfort to a Merchant, to peruse his Bill of Freight, when he is certain his Ship is cast away: Mov'd by the like reason, I have omitted that ungrateful Task. Yet that the Reader may not be impos'd on, in those which yet remain, 'tis but reasonable to let him know, that the Lives of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, tho' they pass with the ignorant for genuine, are only the Forgery of *Donato Acciaiuolo*, a *Florentine*. He pretends to have translated them from a *Greek Manuscript*, which none of the Learned have ever seen, either before, or since. But the Cheat is more manifest from this reason which is undeniable, that *Plutarch* did indeed write the Life of *Scipio*, but he compar'd him not with *Hannibal*, but with *Epaminondas*: As appears by the Catalogue, or Nomenclatura of *Plutarch's* Lives, drawn up by his Son *Lamprias*, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the *Florentine*, in his Life of *Hannibal*, thus relating the famous Conference betwixt *Scipio* and him. " *Scipio* at that time being sent Ambassador from the *Romans*, to King *Antiochus*, with *Publius Villius*; it happen'd then, that these two great Captains met together at *Ephesus*, and amongst other Discourse, it was demanded of *Hannibal* by *Scipio*, whom he thought to have been the greatest Captain? To whom he thus answer'd: In the first place *Alexander* of *Macedon*; in the second, *Pyrrhus* of *Epyrus*; and in the third, himself. To which, *Scipio*, smiling, thus reply'd: And what would

" you

“ you have thought, had it been your fortune
 “ to have vanquish’d me ? To whom *Hannibal*,
 “ I should then have adjudg’d the first place to
 “ my self: Which Answer was not a little plea-
 “ sing to *Scipio*, because by it he found himself
 “ not disesteem’d, nor put into comparison with
 “ the rest, but by the Delicacy and Gallantry of
 “ a well-turn’d Compliment, set like a Man Di-
 “ vine above them all.

Now this Relation is a mere Compendium of the same Conference from *Livy*. But if we can conceive *Plutarch* to have written the Life of *Hannibal*, ’tis hard to believe, that he should tell the same Story after so different, or rather so contrary, a manner, in another place. For, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*, he thus writes: “ *Hannibal* adjudg’d the
 “ Pre-eminence to *Pyrrhus* above all Captains, in
 “ Conduct and Military Skill: next to *Pyrrhus*
 “ he plac’d *Scipio*, and after *Scipio* himself; ” as we have declar’d in the Life of *Scipio*. ’Tis not that I would excuse *Plutarch*, as if he never related the same thing diversly : for ’tis evident, that through want of Advertency he has been often guilty of that Error, of which the Reader will find too frequent Examples in these Lives; but in this place he cannot be charg’d with want of Memory or Care, because what he says here, is relating to what he had said formerly. So that he may mistake the Story, as I believe he has done, (that other of *Livy* being much more probable) but we must allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occasion to note some other Lapses of our Author, which yet amount not to falsification of Truth, much less to Partiality or Envy, (both which are manifest in his Countryman *Dion Cassius*, who writ not long after him) but are only the Frailties of Human Nature; Mistakes not intentional, but ac-

cidental. He was not altogether so well vers'd, either in the *Roman* Language, or in their Coins, or in the value of them; in some Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies, he took Passages on trust from others, relating both to them and the *Barbarians*, which the Reader may particularly find recited in the *Animadversions* of the often-prais'd *Rualdus* on our Author. I will name but one, to avoid Tedioufness, because I particularly observ'd it, when I read *Plutarch* in the Library of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, (to which Foundation I gratefully acknowledge a great part of my Education;) 'tis that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, speaking of *Verres*, who was accus'd by him, and repeating a miserable Jest of *Tully's*, says, that *Verres* in the *Roman* Language signifies a barrow Pig, that is, one which has been gelded. But we have a better account of the Signification from *Varro*, (whom we have more reason to believe,) that the Male of that kind, before he is cut, is call'd *Verres*; after cutting *Majalis*, which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, tho' generally the reason of the Etymology is given from its being a Sacrifice to the Goddess *Maja*. Yet any Man, who will candidly weigh this and the like Errors, may excuse *Plutarch*, as he would a Stranger mistaking the Propriety of an *English* Word: And besides the Humanity of this Excuse, 'tis impossible in nature, that a Man of so various Learning and so covetous of ingrossing all, should perfectly digest such an Infinity of Notions in many Sciences, since to be excellent in one is so great a labour.

It may now be expected, that having written the *Life* of an *Historian*, I should take occasion to write somewhat concerning History it self. But I think to commend it is unnecessary: For the Profit and Pleasure of that Study are both so very obvious, that a quick Reader will be beforehand with me,
and

and imagine faster than I can write. Besides, that the Poit is taken up already, and few Authors have travel'd this way, but who have strew'd it with Rhetorick, as they pass'd. For my own part, who must confess it to my shame, that I never read any thing but for Pleasure, it has always been the most delightful Entertainment of my Life. But they who have employ'd the Study of it as they ought, for their Instruction, for the Regulation of their private Manners, and the Management of publick Affairs, must agree with me, that it is the most pleasant School of Wisdom.

'Tis a Familiarity with past Ages, and an Acquaintance with all the Heroes of them. 'Tis, if you will pardon the Similitude, a Prospective-Glass carrying your Soul to a vast distance, and taking in the farthest Objects of Antiquity. It informs the Understanding by the Memory: It helps us to judge of what will happen, by shewing us the like Revolutions of former Times. For Mankind being the same in all Ages, agitated by the same Passions, and mov'd to Action by the same Interests, nothing can come to pass, but some Precedent of the like nature has already been produc'd; so that having the Causes before your Eyes, we cannot easily be deceiv'd in the Effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the Parallel.

God, 'tis true, with his Divine Providence, overrules and guides all Actions to the secret End he has ordain'd them; but in the way of human Causes, a wise Man may easily discern, that there is a natural Connection betwixt them; and tho' he cannot foresee Accidents, or all things that possibly can come, he may apply Examples, and by them foretel, that from the like Counsels will probably succeed the like Events: And thereby in all Concernments, and all Offices of Life, be instructed in the two main points, on which depends our Hap-

pinels, that is, what to avoid and what to chuse. The Laws of History in general are Truth of Matter, Method, and Clearness of Expression. The first Propriety is necessary to keep our Understandings from the Impositions of Falshood: For History is an Argument fram'd from many particular Examples, or Inductions: If these Examples are not true, then those measures of Life, which we take from them, will be false, and deceive us in their Consequence. The second is grounded on the former; for if the Method be confus'd, if the Words or Expressions of Thought are any way obscure, then the Ideas which we receive must be imperfect; and if such, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to shun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the Foundation of History, to inform us; Disposition and Perspicuity, as the Manner to inform us plainly: One is the Being, the other the Well-being of it. History is principally divided into these three Species: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *History* properly so call'd; and *Biographia*, or the Lives of particular Men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may so call them) naked History; or the plain Relation of Matter of Fact, according to the Succession of Time, divested of all other Ornaments. The Springs and Motives of Actions are not here sought, unless they offer themselves, and are open to every Man's Discernment. The Method is the most natural that can be imagin'd, depending only on the Observation of Months and Years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatsoever happen'd worthy of Relation. The Style is easy, simple, unforc'd, and unadorn'd with the Pomp of Figures; Counsels, GuesSES, politick Observations; Sentences, and Orations, are avoided: In few words, a bare Narration is its Business. Of this kind the *Commentaries of Cæsar* are certainly the most admirable; and

after him the *Annals* of *Tacitus* may have place. Nay even the Prince of Greek Historians, *Thucydides*, may almost be adopted into the number. For tho' he instructs every where by Sentences, tho' he gives the Causes of Actions, the Counsels of both Parties, and makes Orations where they are necessary; yet it is certain, that he first design'd his Work a Commentary; every Year writing down, like an unconcern'd Spectator as he was, the particular Occurrences of the Time, in the order as they happen'd, and his Eighth Book is wholly written after the way of *Annals*; tho', outliving the War, he inserted in his others those Ornaments which render his Work the most compleat, and most instructive now extant.

History, properly so call'd, may be describ'd by the Addition of those Parts, which are not requir'd to *Annals*. And therefore there is little farther to be said concerning it: Only that the Dignity and Gravity of Style is here necessary: That the Guesses of secret Causes, inducing to the Actions, be drawn at least from the most probable Circumstances, not perverted by the Malignity of the Author to sinister Interpretations, of which *Tacitus* is accus'd; but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader. That nothing of Concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are still to be neglected, as debasing the Majesty of the Work. That neither Partiality or Prejudice appear: But that Truth may every where be sacred, (*ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat Historicus.*) That he neither incline to Superstition, in giving too much Credit to Oracles, Prophecies, Divinations, and Prodigies; nor to Irreligion, in disclaiming the Almighty Providence: But where general Opinion has prevail'd of any miraculous Accident or Portent, he ought to relate it as such, without imposing his Opinion on our Belief. Next to *Thucydides* in this

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kind may be accounted *Polibius* amongst the *Grecians* : *Livy*, tho' not free from Superstition, nor *Tacitus* from ill Nature, amongst the *Romans* : Amongst the modern *Italians*, *Guicchiardine*, and *D'Avilla*, if not partial ; but above all Men, in my opinion, the plain, sincere, unaffected, and most instructive *Philip de Comines* amongst the *French* ; tho' he only gives his History the humble Name of *Commentaries*. I am sorry I cannot find in our own Nation (tho' it has produc'd some commendable Historians) any proper to be rank'd with these. *Buchanan* indeed for the Purity of his *Latin*, and for his Learning, and for all other Endowments belonging to an Historian, might be plac'd amongst the greatest, if he had not too much lean'd to Prejudice, and too manifestly declar'd himself a Party of a Cause, rather than an Historian of it. Excepting only that (which I desire not to urge too far, on so great a Man, but only to give a Caution to his Readers concerning it) our Isle may justly boast in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns, and excell'd by few of the Ancients.

Biographia, or the History of particular Mens Lives, comes next to be consider'd ; which in Dignity is inferiour to the other two, as being more confin'd in Action, and treating of Wars and Counsels, and all other publick Affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him whose Life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular Dependance on them, or Connection to them : All things here are circumscrib'd, and driven to a Point, so as to terminate in one : Consequently if the Action or Counsel were manag'd by Collegues, some part of it must be either lame or wanting ; except it be supply'd by the Excursion of the Writer : Herein likewise must be less of variety for the same reason ; because the Fortunes and Actions of one Man are related,

related, not those of many. Thus the Actions and Achievements of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, are all of them but the successive Parts of the *Mithridatick* War: Of which we could have no perfect Image, if the same Hand had not given us the whole, tho' at several Views, in their particular Lives.

Yet, tho' we allow, for the Reasons above alledg'd, that this kind of Writing is in Dignity inferior to *History* and *Annals*, in Pleasure and Instruction it equals, or even excels both of them. 'Tis not only commended by antient Practice, to celebrate the Memory of great and worthy Men, as the best Thanks which Posterity can pay them: but also the Examples of Virtue are of more Vigour, when they are thus contracted into Individuals. As the Sun-beams, united in a Burning-glass to a Point, have greater Force than when they are darted from a plain Superficies; so the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a single story, strike upon our Minds a stronger and more lively Impression, than the scatter'd Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the same means that they give us Pleasure, they afford us Profit too. For when the Understanding is intent and fix'd on a single thing, it carries closer to the Mark, every part of the Object sinks into it, and the Soul receives it unmixed and whole. For this reason *Aristotle* commends the Unity of Action in a Poem; because the Mind is not capable of digesting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a time. Whatsoever distracts the Pleasure, lessens it. And as the Reader is more concern'd at one Man's Fortune, than those of many; so likewise the Writer is more capable of making a perfect Work, if he confine himself to this narrow Compass. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a single Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a History-
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piece of many Figures, the general Design, the Ordinance or Disposition of it, the Relation of one Figure to another, the Diversity of the Posture, Habits, Shadowings, and all the other Graces conspiring to an Uniformity, are of so difficult Performance, that neither is the Resemblance of particular Persons often perfect, nor the Beauty of the Piece compleat : For any considerable Error in the Parts, renders the whole disagreeable and lame. Thus then the Perfection of the Work, and the Benefit arising from it, are both more absolute in *Biography* than in History : All History is only the Precepts of Moral Philosophy reduc'd into Examples. *Moral Philosophy* is divided into two Parts, *Ethicks* and *Politicks* : the first instructs us in our private Offices of Virtue ; the second in those which relate to the Management of the Commonwealth. Both of these teach by Argumentation and Reasoning, which rush as it were into the Mind, and possess it with Violence : But History rather allures than forces us to Virtue. There is nothing of the Tyrant in Example ; but it gently glides into us, is easy and pleasant in its Passage ; and in one word, reduces into practice our speculative Notions. Therefore the more powerful the Examples are, they are the more useful also : And by being more known, they are more powerful. Now Unity, which is defin'd, is in its own nature more apt to be understood than Multiplicity, which in some measure participates of Infinity. The reason is *Aristotle's*.

Biographia, or the Histories of particular Lives, tho' circumscrib'd in the Subject, is yet more extensive in the Style than the other two : For it not only comprehends them both, but has somewhat superadded, which neither of them have. The Style of it is various, according to the Occasion. There are proper Places in it, for the Plainness

ness and Nakedness of Narration, which is ascrib'd to Annals; there is also room reserv'd for the Loftiness and Gravity of general History, when the Actions related shall require that manner of Expression. But there is withal, a Descent into minute Circumstances, and trivial Passages of Life, which are natural by this way of writing, and which the Dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the Rooms of State; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Hero: You see him in his Undress, and are made familiar with his most private Actions and Conversations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering Cockle-shells on the Shore; *Augustus* playing at Bounding-stones with Boys; and *Agessilaus* riding on a Hobby-horse among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you see the poor reasonable Animal, as naked as ever Nature made him; are made acquainted with his Passions and his Follies, and find the *Demi-God* a *Man*: *Plutarch* himself has more than once defended this kind of relating little Passages. For in the Life of *Alexander* he says thus: *In writing the Lives of Illustrious Men, I am not tied to the Laws of History: Nor does it follow, that because an Action is great, it therefore manifests the Greatness and Virtue of him who did it; but on the other side, sometimes a word, or a casual jest, betrays a Man more to our knowledge of him, than a Battel fought, wherein ten thousand Men were slain, or sacking of Cities, or a course of Victories.* In another place he quotes *Xenophon* on the like occasion: "The sayings of great Men, in their familiar discourses, and amidst their Wine, have some-
" what in them, which is worthy to be transmit-
" ted to Posterity. Our Author therefore needs no excuse, but rather deserves a commendation, when he relates, as pleasant, some Sayings of his
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Heroes, which appear (I must confess it) very cold and insipid mirth to us. For 'tis not his meaning to commend the Jest, but to paint the Man; besides, we may have lost somewhat of the Idiotism of that Language in which it was spoken; and where the conceit is couch'd in a single word, if all the significations of it are not critically understood, the grace and the pleasantry are lost. But in all parts of *Biography*, whether familiar or stately, whether sublime or low, whether serious or merry, *Plutarch* equally excell'd: If we compare him to others, *Dion Cassius* is not so sincere: *Herodian*, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceiv'd himself, with what he had falsely heard reported; then the time of his Emperors exceeds not in all above sixty years; so that his whole History will scarce amount to three Lives of *Plutarch*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* may be call'd alike, either Authors of Histories, or Writers of Lives: But the first of them runs too willingly into obscene Descriptions, which he teaches while he relates; the other, besides what has already been noted of him, often falls into obscurity: and both of them have made so unlucky a choice of times, that they are forc'd to describe rather Monsters than Men; and their Emperors are either extravagant Fools, or Tyrants, and most usually both. Our Author, on the contrary, as he was more inclin'd to commend than to dispraise, has generally chosen such great Men as were famous for their several Virtues; at least such whose Frailties or Vices were over-weigh'd by their Excellencies; such, from whose Examples we may have more to follow than to shun. Yet, as he was impartial, he disguis'd not the Faults of any Man. An Example of which is in the Life of *Lucullus*; where, after he has told us, that the double benefit which his Countrymen, the *Chero-neans*, receiv'd from him, was the chiefest motive which

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which he had to write his Life, he afterwards rips up his Luxury, and shews how he lost thro' his mismanagement, his Authority, and his Soldiers love. Then he was more happy in his Digressions than any we have nam'd. I have always been pleas'd to see him, and his Imitator *Montaigne*, when they strike a little out of the common Road: For we are sure to be the better for their wandering.

The best Quarry lies not always in the open Field: And who wou'd not be content to follow a good Huntsman over Hedges and Ditches, when he knows the Game will reward his Pains? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may observe, that the great reason of his frequent starts, is the variety of his Learning: He knew so much of Nature, was so vastly furnish'd with all the treasures of the Mind, that he was uneasy to himself, and was forc'd, as I may say, to lay down some at every passage, and to scatter his riches as he went: Like another *Alexander*, or *Adrian*, he built a City, or planted a Colony, in every part of his Progress; and left behind him some memorial of his greatness. *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and *Rome* the Mistress of the World, he has discover'd in their Foundations, their Institutions, their Growth, their Height, the Decay of the three first, and the Alteration of the last. You see those several People in their different Laws and Policies, and Forms of Government, in their Warriors, and Senators, and Demagogues. Nor are the Ornaments of Poetry, and the Illustrations of Similitudes, forgotten by him; in both which he instructs as well as pleases, or rather pleases that he may instruct.

This last Reflection leads me naturally to say somewhat in general of his Style, tho' after having justly prais'd him for Copiousness of Learning, Integrity,

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tegrity, Perspicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodness which appears thro' all his Writings, it were unreasonable to be critical on his Elocution : As on a Tree which bears excellent Fruit, we consider not the beauty of the Blossoms ; for if they are not pleasant to the Eye, or delightful to the Scent, we know at the same time, that they are not the prime Intention of Nature, but are thrust out in order to their product : So in *Plutarch*, whose business was not to please the Ear, but to charm and to instruct the Mind, we may easily forgive the Cadences of words, and the Roughness of expression ; yet for Manliness of Eloquence, if it abounded not in our Author, it was not wanting in him : He neither studied the sublime Style, nor affected the flowry. The choice of Words, the numbers of Periods, the turns of Sentences, and those other Ornaments of Speech, he neither sought nor shun'd. But the depth of Sense, the accuracy of Judgment, the disposition of the Parts and contexture of the Whole, in so admirable and vast a Field of matter ; and lastly, the copiousness and variety of words, appear shining in our Author. 'Tis indeed observ'd of him, that he keeps not always to the Style of Prose ; but if a Poetical word, which carries in it more of Emphasis or Signification, offer it self at any time, he refuses it not because *Homer* or *Euripides* have us'd it : But if this be a fault, I know not how *Xenophon* will stand excus'd. Yet neither do I compare our Author with him, or with *Herodotus* in the sweetness and graces of his Style, nor with *Thucydides* in the solidity and closeness of Expression. For *Herodotus* is acknowledged the Prince of *Ionick*, the other two of the *Attick* Eloquence. As for *Plutarch*, his Style is so particular, that there is none of the Ancients, to whom we can properly resemble him. And the reason of this is obvious ; for being conversant in

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so great variety of Authors, and collecting from all of them what he thought most excellent, out of the confusion, or rather mixture of all their Styles, he form'd his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all: like the *Corinthian* Metal, which had in it Gold, and Brass, and Silver, and yet was a Species by it self. Add to this, that in *Plutarch's* time, and long before it, the purity of the *Greek* Tongue was corrupted, and the native splendour of it had taken the tarnish of *Barbarism*, and contracted the filth and spots of degenerating Ages. For the fall of Empires always draws after it the Language and Eloquence of the People: They who labour under misfortunes or servitude, have little leisure to cultivate their Mother Tongue. To conclude, when *Athens* had lost her Sovereignty to the *Peloponnesians*, and her Liberty to *Philip*, neither a *Thucydides* nor a *Demosthenes* were afterwards produc'd by her.

I have formerly acknowledg'd many lapses of our Author, occasion'd thro' his inadvertency; but he is likewise tax'd with faults, which reflect on his Judgment in matters of fact, and his Candour in the comparisons of his *Greeks* and *Romans*. Both which are so well vindicated by *Montaign*, that I need but barely to translate him. " First then he " is accus'd of want of Judgment, in reporting " things incredible: For proof of which is al- " ledg'd the story he tells of the *Spartan* Boy, who " suffer'd his Bowels to be torn out by a young " Fox which he had stolen, chusing rather to hide " him under his Garment till he died, than to " confess his Robbery. In the first place this Ex- " ample is ill chosen, because 'tis difficult to set a " bound to the force of our internal faculties, " 'tis not defin'd how far our resolution may car- " ry us to suffer: The force of Bodies may more " easily

“ easily be determin’d than that of Souls: Then
 “ of all People the *Lacedemonians*, by reason of
 “ their rigid institution, were most harden’d to
 “ undergo Labours, and to suffer Pains. *Cicero*,
 “ before our Author’s time, tho’ then the *Spartan*
 “ Virtue was degenerated, yet avows to have seen
 “ himself some *Lacedemonian* Boys, who, to make
 “ tryal of their patience, were plac’d before the
 “ Altar of *Diana*, where they endur’d scourging,
 “ till they were all over bloody, and that not only
 “ without crying, but even without a sigh or
 “ groan: Nay, and some of them so ambitious of
 “ this reputation, that they willingly resign’d their
 “ Lives under the hands of their Tormentors.
 “ The same may be said of another story, which
 “ *Plutarch* vouches with a hundred Witnesses,
 “ That in the time of Sacrifice, a burning Coal
 “ by chance falling into the Sleeve of a *Spartan*
 “ Boy, who held the Censer, he suffer’d his Arm
 “ to be scorch’d so long without moving it, that
 “ the scent of it reak’d up to the Noses of the
 “ Assistants.

“ For my own part, who have taken in so vast
 “ an Idea of the *Lacedemonian* magnanimity, *Plu-*
 “ *tarch*’s story is so far from seeming incredible to
 “ me, that I neither think it wonderful, nor un-
 “ common: For we ought not to measure possi-
 “ bilities or impossibilities by our own standard,
 “ that is, by what we our selves cou’d do or suffer.
 “ These, and some other slight Examples, are
 “ made use of, to lessen the opinion of *Plutarch*’s
 “ Judgment: But the common exception against
 “ his Candor, is, that in his parallels of *Greeks*
 “ and *Romans* he has done too much honour to
 “ his Countrymen, in matching them with Heroes,
 “ with whom they were not worthy to be com-
 “ par’d. For instances of this, there are produc’d
 “ the comparisons of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*,
 “ *Aristides*

“ *Aristides* and *Cato*, *Lyfander* and *Sylla*, *Pelopidas*
 “ and *Marcellus*, *Agefilaus* and *Pompey*: Now the
 “ ground of this Accufation is moft probably the
 “ luftre of thofe *Roman* Names, which ftrikes on
 “ our Imagination. For what proportion of glory
 “ is there betwixt a *Roman* *Conful*, or *Proconful* of
 “ fo great a Common-wealth, and a *fmple* *Citizen*
 “ of *Athens*? But he who confiders the truth
 “ more nearly, and weighs not Honours with Ho-
 “ nours, but Men with Men, which was *Plu-*
 “ *tarch*’s main defign, will find in the Balance of
 “ their Manners, their Virtues, their Endowments
 “ and Abilities, that *Cicero* and the *Elder Cato*
 “ were far from having the overweight againft
 “ *Demofthenes* and *Aristides*. I might as well com-
 “ plain againft him in behalf of his own Coun-
 “ trymen: For neither was *Camillus* fo famous as
 “ *Themiftocles*; nor were *Tiberius* and *Gaius* *Grac-*
 “ *chus* comparable to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, in re-
 “ gard of Dignity: Much lefs was the Wifdom
 “ of *Numa* to be put in Balance againft that of
 “ *Lycurgus*, or the Modesty and Temperance of
 “ *Scipio*, againft the folid Philofophy and perfect
 “ Virtue of *Epaminondas*: Yet the difparity of
 “ Victories, the Reputation, the blaze of Glory,
 “ in the two laft, were evidently on the *Roman*
 “ fide. But as I faid before, to compare them
 “ this way, was the leaft of *Plutarch*’s aim; he
 “ openly declares againft it: For fpeaking of the
 “ courfe of *Pompey*’s Fortune, his Exploits of
 “ War, the Greatnefs of the Armies which he
 “ commanded, the Splendour and Number of his
 “ Triumphs, in his comparifon betwixt him and
 “ *Agefilaus*; I believe, fays he, that if *Xenophon*
 “ were now alive, and would indulge himfelf the
 “ liberty to write all he could to the advantage
 “ of his Hero *Agefilaus*, he would be afham’d to
 “ put their acts in competition. In his compari-
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“ son of *Sylla* and *Lyfander*; There is, says he,
 “ no manner of equality, either in the number of
 “ their Victories, or in the danger of their Bat-
 “ tles; for *Lyfander* only gain’d two Naval Fights,
 “ &c. Now this is far from partiality to the
 “ *Grecians*. He who wou’d convince him of this
 “ Vice, must shew us in what particular Judgment
 “ he has been too favourable to his Countrymen,
 “ and make it out in general where he has fail’d
 “ in matching such a *Greek* with such a *Roman*:
 “ which must be done by shewing how he could
 “ have pair’d them better; and naming any o-
 “ ther in whom the resemblance might have been
 “ more perfect. But an equitable Judge, who
 “ takes things by the same handle which *Plutarch*
 “ did, will find there is no injury offer’d to ei-
 “ ther Party, tho’ there be some disparity betwixt
 “ the Persons: For he weighs every Circumstance
 “ by it self, and judges separately of it; not com-
 “ paring Men at a lump, nor endeavouring to
 “ prove they were alike in all things, but allowing
 “ for disproportion of quality or fortune, shewing
 “ wherein they agreed or disagreed, and wherein
 “ one was to be prefer’d before the other.

I thought I had answer’d all that cou’d reason-
 ably be objected against our Author’s Judgment;
 but casually casting my Eye on the Works of a
French Gentleman, deservedly famous for Wit and
 Criticism, I wonder’d, amongst many Commen-
 dations of *Plutarch*, to find this one Reflection.
 “ As for his Comparisons, they seem truly to me
 “ very great; but I think he might have carried
 “ them yet farther, and have penetrated more
 “ deeply into human Nature: There are folds and
 “ recesses in our minds, which have escap’d him;
 “ he judges Man too much in gross; and thinks
 “ him not so different, as he is often from him-
 “ self: The same Person being just, unjust, merciful,

“ ciful, and cruel; which qualities seeming to
 “ bely each other in him, he attributes their in-
 “ consistences to foreign Causes : In fine, if he
 “ had describ’d *Catiline*, he wou’d have given him
 “ to us, either Prodigal or Covetous; that *alieni*
 “ *appetens sui profusus*, was above his reach. He
 “ could never have reconcil’d those contrarieties in
 “ the same subject, which *Salust* has so well unfolded,
 “ and which *Montaign* so much better understood.

This Judgment cou’d not have proceeded, but
 from a Man who had a nice taste in Authors ; and
 if it be not altogether just, ’tis at least delicate :
 but I am confident, that if he please to consider
 this following Passage taken out of the Life of
Sylla, he will moderate, if not retract his censure.

“ In the rest of his manners he was unequal,
 “ irregular, different from himself : ἀνώμαλος τις
 “ ἔειπε, καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. He took many
 “ things by rapine, he gave more ; honour’d Men
 “ immoderately, and us’d them contumeliously :
 “ Was submissive to those of whom he stood in
 “ need, insulting over those who stood in need
 “ of him : So that it was doubtful, whether
 “ he were more form’d by Nature to arrogance
 “ or flattery. As to his uncertain way of pu-
 “ nishing, he would sometimes put men to death
 “ on the least occasion ; at other times he wou’d
 “ pardon the greatest crimes : So that judging
 “ him in the whole, you may conclude him
 “ to have been naturally Cruel, and prone to
 “ vengeance, but that he could remit of his seve-
 “ rity, when his Interests requir’d it.

Here methinks our Author seems to have suffi-
 ciently understood the folds and doubles of *Sylla*’s
 disposition ; for his Character is full of variety
 and inconsistencies. Yet in the conclusion, ’tis to
 be confess’d, that *Plutarch* has assign’d him a
 bloody Nature : The Clemency was but artificial

and assum'd, the Cruelty was inborn. But this cannot be said of his rapine, and his prodigality ; for here the *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, is as plainly describ'd, as if *Plutarch* had borrow'd the sense from *Salust* : And as he was a great Collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheless he judg'd rightly of *Sylla*, that naturally he was Cruel : For that quality was predominant in him ; and he was oftner revengeful than he was merciful. But this is sufficient to vindicate our Author's Judgment from being superficial ; and I desire not to press the Argument more strongly against this Gentleman, who has honour'd our Country by his long Residence among us.

It seems to me, I must confess, that our Author has not been more hardly treated by his Enemies, in his comparing other Men, than he has been by his Friends, in their comparing *Seneca* with him. And herein even *Montaign* himself is scarcely to be defended. For no Man more esteem'd *Plutarch*, no Man was better acquainted with his Excellencies, yet this notwithstanding, he has done too great an honour to *Seneca*, by ranking him with our Philosopher and Historian ; him, I say, who was so much less a *Philosopher*, and no *Historian*. 'Tis a Reputation to *Seneca*, that any one has offer'd at the Comparison : The worth of his Adversary makes his defeat advantageous to him ; and *Plutarch* might cry out with Justice, *Qui cum victus erit, mecum certasse feretur*. If I had been to find out a parallel for *Plutarch*, I should rather have pitch'd on *Varro* the most learned of the *Romans*, if at least his Works had yet remain'd ; or with *Pomponius Atticus*, if he had written. But the likeness of *Seneca* is so little, that except the one's being Tutor to *Nero*, and the other to *Trajan*, both of them strangers to *Rome*, yet rais'd to the highest dignities in that City, and both Philosophers, tho' of several

veral Sects; (for *Seneca* was a *Stoick*, *Plutarch* a *Platonist*, at least an *Academick*, that is, half *Platonist* half *Sceptick*;) besides some such faint resemblance as these, *Seneca* and *Plutarch* seem to have as little Relation to one another, as their Native Countries, *Spain* and *Greece*. If we consider them in their inclinations or humours, *Plutarch* was sociable and pleasant, *Seneca* morose and melancholly: *Plutarch* a lover of Conversation and sober Feasts; *Seneca* reserv'd; uneasy to himself when alone, to others when in Company. Compare them in their manners, *Plutarch* every where appears candid, *Seneca* often is censorious. *Plutarch*, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; *Seneca*, out of the sourness of his temper, is prone to Satyr, and still searching for some occasion to vent his gaul. *Plutarch* is pleas'd with an opportunity of praising Virtue; and *Seneca* (to speak the best of him) is glad of a pretence to reprehend Vice. *Plutarch* endeavours to teach others, but refuses not to be taught himself; for he is always doubtful and inquisitive: *Seneca* is altogether for teaching others, but so teaches them, that he imposes his Opinions; for he was of a Sect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet *Plutarch* writes like a man of a confirm'd Probity, *Seneca* like one of a weak and staggering Virtue. *Plutarch* seems to have vanquish'd Vice, and to have triumph'd over it: *Seneca* seems only to be combating and resisting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore *Plutarch* is easy in his Discourse, as one who has overcome the difficulty: *Seneca* is painful, as he who still labours under it. *Plutarch's* Virtue is humble and civiliz'd; *Seneca's* haughty and ill-bred. *Plutarch* allures you; *Seneca* commands you. One wou'd make Virtue your Companion, the other your Tyrant. The style of *Plutarch* is easy and

flowing; that of *Seneca* precipitous and harsh. The first is even, the second broken. The Arguments of the *Grecian* drawn from Reason, work themselves into your understanding, and make a deep and lasting impression in your mind; those of the *Roman* drawn from Wit, flash immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by starts with his arguteness, that pleases you for continuance with his propriety. The course of their fortunes seems also to have partaken of their Styles; for *Plutarch's* was equal, smooth, and of the same tenour; *Seneca's* was turbid, unconstant, and full of revolution. The Life of *Plutarch* was unblameable, as the Reader cannot but have observ'd: and of all his Writings there is nothing to be noted as having the least tendency to Vice; but only that little Treatise, which is intituled *Ἐρωτικὸς*, wherein he speaks too broadly of a Sin, to which the Eastern and Southern parts of the World are most obnoxious: But *Seneca* is said to have been more Libertine than suited with the gravity of a Philosopher, or with the austerity of a *Stoick*. An ingenious *Frenchman* esteems, as he tells us, his Person rather than his Works; and values him more as the *Præceptor* of *Nero*, a Man ambitious of the Empire, and as the Gallant of *Agrippina*, than as a Teacher of Morality. For my part I dare not push the commendation so far; His Courage was perhaps praise-worthy, if he endeavour'd to deliver *Rome* from such a Monster of Tyranny, as *Nero* was then beginning to appear; his ambition too was the more excusable, if he found in himself an ability of governing the World, and a desire of doing good to Human Kind: But as to his good Fortunes with the Empress, I know not what value ought to be set on a wise Man for them; except it be, that Women generally liking without Judgment, it was a Conquest for a Philosopher

sopher once in an Age, to get the better of a Fool. However, methinks there is something of awkward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a *Pedant* and a *Stoick* making love in a long Gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are us'd by the Cardinals and Judges in the dance of the Rehearsal: If *Agrippina* wou'd needs be so lavish of her favours, since a Sot grew nauseous to her, because he was her Husband, and nothing under a Wit could atone for *Claudius*, I am half sorry that *Petronius* was not the Man: We cou'd have born it better from his Character, than from one who profess'd the severity of Virtue, to make a Cuckold of his Emperor and Benefactor. But let the Historian answer for his own Relation: Only, if true, 'tis so much the worse, that *Seneca*, after having abus'd his Bed, cou'd not let him sleep quiet in his Grave. The *Apocolocyntifis*, or mock deification of *Claudius*, was too sharp and insulting on his Memory: And *Seneca*, though he could preach forgiveness to others, did not practise it himself in that Satyr: Where was the patience and insensibility of a *Stoick*, in revenging his Banishment with a Libel? Where was the Morality of a Philosopher, in defaming and exposing of an harmless Fool? And where was common humanity, in railing against the dead? But the talent of his malice is visible in other places: He censures *Mecenas*, and I believe justly, for the looseness of his manners, the voluptuousness of his Life, and the effeminacy of his style; but it appears, that he takes pleasure in so doing, and that he never forc'd his nature, when he spoke ill of any Man. For his own Style, we see what it is; and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old Patron, we may call it a shatter'd Eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embody'd, but broken into fragments; every part by itself pompous, but the whole con-

fus'd and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monsieur *St. Evremont* has well observ'd, has nothing in it of the Purity and Elegance of *Augustus's* times: and 'tis of him and of his Imitators, that *Petronius* said; *Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* The *Controversiæ sententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus Sententiarum strepitus*, make it evident, that *Seneca* was tax'd under the person of the old Rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the Uncle and the Nephew, I mean *Seneca* and *Lucan*, is not known: but *Petronius* plainly points them out; one for a bad Orator, the other for as bad a Poet: His own Essay of the Civil War is an open defiance of the *Pharsalia*; and the first Oration of *Eumolphus*, as full an Arraignment of *Seneca's* false Eloquence. After all that has been said, he is certainly to be allowed a great Wit, but not a good Philosopher: Not fit to be compar'd with *Cicero*, of whose reputation he was emulous, any more than *Lucan* is with *Virgil*. To sum up all in few words, consider a Philosopher declaiming against Riches, yet vastly rich himself; against Avarice, yet putting out his Money at great Extortion here in *Britain*; against Honours, yet aiming to be Emperor; against Pleasure, yet enjoying *Agrippina*, and in his old Age married to a beautiful young Woman: And after this, let him be made a Parallel to *Plutarch*.

And now, with the usual vanity of *Dutch* Prefacers, I could load our Author with the Praises and Commemorations of Writers: For both Ancient and Modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of stuff, were to raise a distrust in common Readers that *Plutarch* wants 'em. *Rualdus* indeed has collected ample Testimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of some, and refer you to him
for

for the particular quotations. He reckons *Gellius*, *Eusebius*, *Himerius* the Sophister, *Eunapius*, *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Agathias*, *Photius* and *Xiphilin* Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Johannes Sarisberienfis*, the famous *Petrarch*, *Petrus Victorius*, and *Justus Lipsius*.

But *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great restorer of the *Greek*, who liv'd above two hundred years ago, deserves to have his Suffrage set down in words at length: For the rest have only commended *Plutarch* more than any single Author, but he has extol'd him above all together.

'Tis said, that having this extravagant question put to him by a Friend, that if Learning must suffer a general Shipwrack, and he had only his choice left him of preserving one Author, who should be the Man he would preserve: he answer'd, *Plutarch*; and probably might give this reason, that in saving him, he should secure the best Collection of them all.

The Epigram of *Agathias* deserves also to be remember'd: This Author flourish'd about the year five hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*: The Verses are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Translation of them, I will conclude the praises of our Author; having first admonish'd you, that they are suppos'd to be written on a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Σεῖω πολυκλήεντα τύπον σήσαντο Χερωνεῦ

Πλάταρχε κρατερῶν υἱέες Ἀυσονίων:

Ὅτι παρὰ ἑλλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλήνας ἀρίστους

Ῥώμης ἐνπολέμοις ἤρμους ἐνναίταις.

Ἀλλὰ τέσ' βίοτοιο παρὰ ἑλληλον βίον ἄλλον

οὐδ' ἐσὺ γὰρ ἂν γράψαις, εἰ γὰρ ὁμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean

Cheronean Plutarch, to thy deathless Praise
 Does Martial Rome this grateful Statue raise:
 Because both Greece and she thy Fame have shar'd;
 (Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd:)
 But thou thy self cou'dst never write thy own:
 Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.



THE



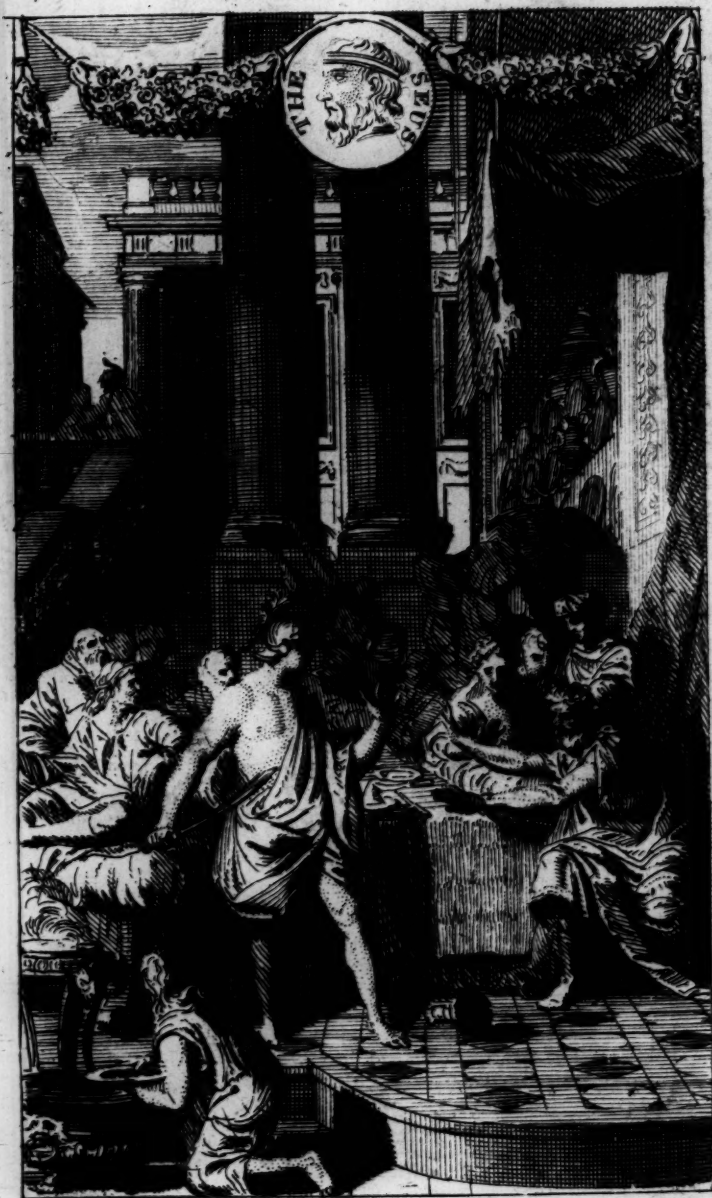
H. Flecken

sculp.

PLUTARCH.







Vol. I. p. 59.

Lud. Du Guernier inv. et. Sculp.



THE
L I F E
O F
T H E S E U S.

MY dear Friend *Sossius* (1) *Senecio*, as Historians, in their Geographical (2) descriptions of Countries, croud into the farthest parts of their Maps those places that escape their knowledge, with some such Remarks in the Margin as these; *all beyond*
is

(1) *C. Sossius Senecio*, who was four times Consul; the first time under *Nerva*, and the three last under *Trajan*. It was this *Senecio*, to whom *Pliny* address some of his Epistles. They who imagine *Plutarch* dedicated these Lives to that *Senecio*, who was put to Death by *Domitian*, are very much mistaken. That *Senecio* was call'd *Heremius*, and not *Sossius*, and was dead before *Plutarch* had written these last Lives.

(2) Geography is the Daughter of Philosophy, and a very essential part of History: so that the first Geographers, who were all Philosophers, did not think it sufficient to distinguish in their respective Plans the Situation and Distance of the Places they were describing, but added an Account of

is nothing but dry and desert Sands, inhabited only by wild Creatures; or dark unpassable Bogs, or Scythian Cold, or frozen Sea: So in this Work of mine, wherein I have compar'd the Lives of the greatest Men with one another, having run thro' that time whereunto probable Reason cou'd reach, and thro' which the truth of History could pass; I may very well say of those that are farther off, (1) *All beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical Fictions.* There the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there any Thing further to be expected worthy of Credit, or that carries any appearance of Certainty. Yet having published an Account of *Lycurgus* the Lawgiver, and *Numa* the King, methought I might with good reason ascend as high as *Romulus*, being brought by my History so near to his time. Considering therefore with my self

of the Manners of the Inhabitants, their Form of Government, their Virtues, and their Vices, and omitted nothing that might tend to cultivate the Mind, or satisfy the Curiosity of the Reader. So that these Writings were real Histories, and *Plutarch* has with good Reason made use of the Word *Historian* instead of *Geographer*, as *Geography* is somewhere by *Strabo* call'd *History*.

(1) *Thucydides* had own'd, more than 500 Years before *Plutarch*, that whatever preceded the Wars in *Peloponnesus* was very uncertain by reason of its Antiquity. He meant the Wars of the *Medes*, and That of *Troy*. Now if in the time of *Thucydides* the *Median* Wars, which did not break out but 100 years before, passed for fabulous, what shall we say of the

Trojan War, and the Age wherein *Theseus* flourish'd, which preceded the *Peloponnesian* War almost 800 Years? *Plutarch* very justly calls that Age the Country of Monsters, and Fictions. This makes it evident that the sacred History has as much the advantage over the Prophane, as the true Religion, which is founded upon it, has over all other Religions whatever. We meet with nothing but Light, and Truth in the One, whereas the Others are stufft with Obscurity, Lies and Fiction. There is no prophane History whatever that can light us up to within 600 Years of the times of *Theseus*, whereas the Holy Bible conducts us up, and gives us a distinct view even of the Creation.

THESEUS.

61

*Whom with so great a man shall I compare?
Or whom oppose? Who can the tryal bear?*

(as *Æschylus* expresses it) I found none so fit as Him that peopled the famous and most celebrated City of *Athens*, to be set in opposition with the Father of the invincible and renown'd City of *Rome*. And here it were to be wish'd, that we could so purge the fabulous part that it might obey the Laws of Reason, and receive the character of History. But wherever it shall chance too boldly to condemn the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we shall beg that we may meet with candid Readers, and such as will favourably receive what can be related concerning things of so great Antiquity.

Now *Theseus* seems to resemble *Romulus* in many particulars. Both of 'em were born out of Woodlock, and of uncertain Parentage, Both had the repute of being sprung from the Gods.

The comparison between Theseus and Romulus.

Both Warriors; that by all the World's allow'd.

Homer.

Both of them had join'd with strength of Body an equal vigour of Mind; and of the two most famous Cities of the World, the One built *Rome*, and the Other made *Athens* be inhabited. Both were famous for the Rape of Women; Neither of them cou'd avoid domestick misfortunes, nor the indignation of their own Relations: nay further, Both are said to have died by the hands of their own offended Citizens, if we may believe those relations that are deliver'd with the least appearance of strange or Poetical Fiction.

The

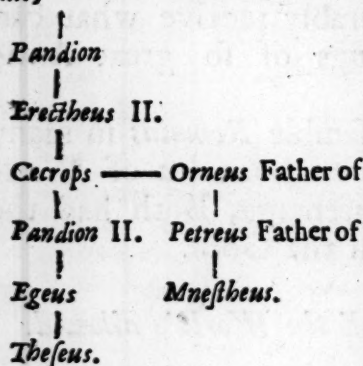
The Family of Theseus.

* ΑΥΤΟΧΘΟΝΕΣ.

The Lineage of *Theseus* by his Father's side ascends as high as to (1) *Erechtheus*, and the * first Inhabitants of *Attica*. By his Mother's side he was descended from (2) *Pelops*: For *Pelops* was the most powerful of all the Kings in *Peloponnesus*, not so much for the greatness of his Riches, as the multitude of his Children; having match'd many Daugh-

1 This *Erechtheus*, as he is call'd by *Plutarch*, was most generally named *Erichthonius*. *Theseus* his Genealogy on his Father's side was as follows,

Erichthonius, or *Erechtheus*, the Son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, or *Cranae* Grand-daughter of *Cranus*,



The first *Erechtheus*, or *Erichthonius*, was contemporary with *Moses*, about the Year of the World 2460, or 1488 before the Birth of *Christ*. There had been three Kings in *Athens* before him, viz. *Cecrops*, *Cranus*, and *Amphiction*, all three of an unknown Extraction, and for that Reason called the *Sons of the Earth*. Now as *Erechtheus* or *Erichthonius* pass'd for the Grandson of *Cranus* his Daughter, *Plutarch* very justly said that *Theseus* was descended from the ΑΥΤΟΧΘΟΝΕΣ, i.e. the first Inhabitants of *Attica*, who

were so called because they were born in that very Country, and had not transmigrated thither from other parts. However it is very certain, that *Attica* was first inhabited by Foreigners, of which there needs no other proof than the very name of *Cecrops*, which is foreign. But that which gave the Name of *Autochthones*, or *Indigenes*, to the first Inhabitants of *Attica* was, because as the other Cantons or Districts of *Greece*, which were of a more fertile and kindly Soil, did for that very reason often change their Masters, whilst every one endeavour'd to settle by Force in the most fruitful Parts: The Country of *Attica*, on the other hand, being barren and unprofitable, its Inhabitants remain'd unmolested, and were therefore said to have sprung out of their own Earth; by reason of the Difference there was betwixt them, and the other Colonies, who had been much more changeable, and fluctuating.

2 *Pelops* was the Son of *Tantalus*, and consequently of *Phrygian* Extraction. He carry'd with him immense Riches into *Peloponnesus*, which he had dug out of the Mines of Mount *Sypilus*. The Son of *Pelops* was *Pistheus*, whose Daughter *Ethra* was the Mother of *Theseus*.

ters

ters (1) to Persons of the greatest Quality, and made all his Sons Governours of the most considerable Provinces (2) round about him. One whereof, named *Pittheus*, Grandfather to *Theseus*, was Founder of the small City of the *Træzenians*, and had the repute of a man of the greatest knowledge and wisdom in his time: Which then it seems consisted chiefly in such grave Sentences (3) as the Poet *Hesiod* got his great esteem by, in his Book of *Works and Days*. And even among them is one that they ascribe to *Pittheus*,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ ἐρημένῳ ἄρις ἔστω.

(4) *Let a Friend's services meet full reward.*

Which also *Aristotle* the Philosopher witnesses: And *Euripides*, when he calls *Hippolytus*

(1) Of all these Daughters I can meet with no more than two, one of which was call'd *Lycidice*, and the other *Astydamia*; of whom the first was marry'd to *Alectryon*; or according to others to *Nestor* the Son of *Perseus* King of *Tirinthus*, and *Astydamia* to *Sthenelus* King of *Mycenæ*. This *Astydamia* is by others called *Nicippe*.

(2) By Force of Money he got into his Possession the most considerable Towns in *Peloponnesus*, and made his Sons Masters of them; which was no difficult thing for him to do, considering the extream Poverty and Misery of the Inhabitants.

(3) This appears not only from the Works of *Hesiod*, who flourish'd about 500 Years after *Pittheus*, and those of *Theognis* who was near 300 Years later than *Hesiod*, but likewise from the Proverbs of *Solemon*, who reigned two

or three hundred Years after *Pittheus*.

(4) Mr. *Dacier's* Interpretation of this Verse is something different from the *English*. He translates it thus, *Have always in readiness the Recompence thou hast promised to thy Friend*. The Original may be taken either of these ways; but the Sentiment seems more noble if it be understood according to the Sense M. *Dacier* has put upon it. Under that Acceptation it serves to reprove such as unjustly detain what is due to their Servants or Mercenaries, or are a long time before they pay them; an Injury too common. We meet with the very same Precept in the 19th chapter of *Leviticus*, vers. 13. *The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all Night until the Morning*; for *Hesiod* in this Verse calls the Mercenary Friend.

A Scholar by the reverend Pittheus taught,

shews the opinion that the World had of that great man. 'Tis said that *Ægeus*, being desirous of Children, and consulting the Oracle at *Delphi*, receiv'd that so celebrated answer which forbad him the use of any Woman before his return to *Athens*: But the Oracle being so obscurely worded as not to satisfy him that this was the meaning, he went to *Træzene*, and communicated to *Pittheus* the Answer of the God, which was in this manner:

Ἄσκη ἃ πρέχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν
Μὴ λύσης πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθιωῶν εἰσαφικιάδῃ.

*I warn thee, Warrior, not to broach
Thy Goatskin full of generous Juice,
Nor footlong Spigot to produce,
Till thou to Athens shalt approach.*

What the design of *Pittheus* was in it, is uncertain, however he prevail'd upon him, either by persuasion or deceit, to lie with his Daughter *Æthra*. *Ægeus* afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be *Pittheus's* Daughter, and guessing her to be with Child by him, he left a Sword and a pair of Shoes, hiding them under a great Stone that had a hollowness exactly fitting them, making Her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if she had a Son by him, who when he came to Man's estate shou'd be able to lift up the Stone, and take away what he had left there, she shou'd send him away to him with those things with all secrecy, enjoining him as much as possible to conceal his Journey from all men: For he fear'd extremely the *Pallantidæ* (1), who were continually laying

(1) *Pallas* was *Ægeus's* his Brother, the *Pallantidæ* consider'd her; and as *Ægeus* had no Child the Kingdom of *Athens* as their rightful

laying plots against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being fifty Brothers all of the Sons of *Pallas*.

When *Æthra* was deliver'd (1) of a Son, some report that he was at that Instant named (2) *Theseus*, from the Tokens which his Father had put under the Stone: But others say, that he receiv'd his name afterwards at *Athens*, when *Ægeus* acknowledg'd him for his Son. He was brought up under his Grandfather *Pittheus*, and had by him a Governor and Tutor set over him, nam'd *Comidas*, to whom the *Athenians* (3) even to this time, the day before

rightful Inheritance, of which they could not possibly fail after the Death of their Uncle. *Ægeus* therefore had just Reason to fear that if it should be known to his Nephews that he had a Son, they would no longer despise him for want of Issue, but would be plotting against him in order to take him off before his Son could arrive at *Athens*, and be declar'd his Heir. Or they might at least contrive some means to murder *Theseus*, in his way thither, and make him fall a Victim to their Fury.

(1) She was deliver'd in a place call'd *Celenderis*, near the Haven of *Troezen*. This was contriv'd on purpose by *Pittheus*, that the World might more easily be persuaded to believe that the Infant was the Son of *Neptune*. The place where *Theseus* was born, was for a long time after called *Genethlium*, *The Place of the Birth*.

(2) The Greeks as well as the *Hebrews* gave Names both to Things and Persons, which they drew from some particular Circumstances or Events attending That which they were to name.

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For which Reason this young Prince was called *Theseus* from *Thesus*, which is deriv'd from *τίθημι*, signifying *to put*: and That either from the Tokens which had been put under the Stone, or because *Ægeus* had a vow'd and acknowledg'd him for his Son, which the *Greeks* call *ῥέσθ' ἱστ'.*

(3) This Custom of sacrificing a Ram annually to *Theseus* his Governor has given place to a Proverb, *Κεῖς Τροφῆα ἀπέτισεν*, *The Ram has paid for the Education*; intimating thereby that the People can never be thankful enough to such as have worthily discharg'd their Trust in the Education of their Princes, and that all other Acknowledgements come short of their Deserts if they do not revere them as Gods. In Truth that Governour who takes care to instill into his Royal Pupil the settled Principles of Piety, Justice, Clemency, and Magnanimity, and thereby renders him not only the Support but Delight of his Subjects, such a Governour is to be consider'd as something more than

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Man,

The LIFE of

before the Feast that is dedicated to *Theseus*, sacrifice a Ram; (1) giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than That which they gave to *Silanio* and *Pharrhasius*, for having only made Pictures and Statues of *Theseus*. There being then a Custom for the *Grecian* Youth, upon their first coming to Man's Estate, to go to *Delphi*, and offer the First-Fruits of their Hair to the God of the place; *Theseus* also went thither, and they say that the place to this day is yet nam'd *Thesea* from him. But he shav'd only the forepart of his Head, as *Homer* reports to be the Custom of the *Abantes* (2). And this sort of Tonsure was from him nam'd *Theseis*. But the *Abantes* first us'd this sort of shaving, not having learnt it from the *Arabians*, as some imagine, nor in imitation of the *Myfians*; but, being a Warlike People, and us'd to close fighting,

Man, as one inspired from above, and that consequently he ought to be had in perpetual Remembrance by the People. Of This we have before us a strong Example; the *Athenians* above 1300 Years after the Death of *Theseus* continued to offer Sacrifices to his Governor.

(1) This is a noble Sentiment. The *Athenians* honour'd the Memory of *Comidas*, who had had the Education of *Theseus*; but at the same time they honour'd the Memories of *Silanio* and *Parrhasius*, his Statuary and Picture-drawer. *Plutarch* commends them much more for the Honours they paid the One, than for That which they render'd to the Others. And indeed the Thing will bear no Comparison. The Statuary and Painter delineate and represent only the Features of the Face,

or the Shape of the Body; whereas the Governour forms the Manners, polishes the Mind, elevates the Soul, and inspires it with Virtue. They indeed deserve to be commended, and esteem'd as excellent Artists, but the Other ought to be honour'd as a Benefactor to Mankind, as One, who may in some sense be said to have given Birth to all those grand Actions, from whence They derive their publick Felicity.

(2) *Homer* calls them ὀπίθην κομώμενοι, nourishing their Hair in their Pole: intimating thereby that they kept it clipt before. The *Abantes* were the Inhabitants of *Eubœa*. *Aristotle* tells us that the *Thracians* having obtain'd the Possession of *Phocis*, those of Them that inhabited the Town of *Abæ*, seiz'd on *Eubœa*; and gave the Inhabitants the Name of *Abantes*.

and

THESEUS.

62

and above all other Nations taught chiefly to engage hand to hand : as *Archilochus* witnesses in these Verses,

Οὔτοι πολλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσεται, ὅτε θάμειαι
Σφενδόναι, εὖ τ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
Ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφίων ὃ πολύστονον ἔσεται ἔργον
Ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δαήμονες εἰσὶ μάχης
Δεσπόται Ἐυβοίης δ' ἄρ' ἔκλυτοι.

*Slings they despise, and scorn to send from far
The flying Dart, and wage a distant War;
But hand to hand the trusty Swords they wield
Do all the dreadful business of the Field:
This is the way of fight th' Eubœans know,
Nor Bow nor Sling they trust, but strike themselves
the blow.*

Therefore that they might not give their Enemies that advantage of seizing them by the Hair, they were shav'd in this manner. They write also, that This was the reason why *Alexander* gave command to his Captains, that all the Beards of his *Macedonians* shou'd be shav'd, as being the readiest hold for an Enemy.

Æthra for some time conceal'd the true Parentage of *Theseus*; and there was a report given out by *Pittheus*, that he was begotten by *Neptune*: For the *Træzenians* have *Neptune* in the highest veneration. He is their Tutelar God, to Him they offer all their First-Fruits, and in His Honour stamp their Money with a Trident.

Theseus in his youth discovering not only a great strength of Body, but an equal force of Mind and firmness of Understanding, his Mother *Æthra*, conducting him to the Stone, and informing him Who was his true Father, commanded him to take from thence the Tokens that *Ægeus* had left, and

to sail to *Athens*. So he rais'd the Stone and turn'd it up without any difficulty; but refused to take his Journey by Sea, tho' it was much the safer way, and tho' he was continually prest to it by the intreaties of his Grandfather and Mother; because it was at that time very dangerous to go by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Rogues. For that Age (it seems) produc'd a sort of Men, for strength of Arms, and swiftness of Feet, and vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary rate of Men, and in labours and exercise Indefatigable; yet making use of these Gifts of Nature in nothing either Good or Profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in insolence, and pleasing themselves in the enjoyment of their inhumanity and cruelty, and in seizing, forcing and committing all manner of outrages upon every thing that fell into their hands: They thought civility, and justice, and equity, and humanity, (which many prais'd, either out of want of courage to commit injuries, or fear to receive them) nothing at all to concern Those who were the most daring and most strong. Some of These *Hercules* destroy'd and cut off in his passing through these Countries; but Some who escap'd him, for fear fled and hid themselves, or were spar'd by him in contempt of their abject submission.

But after That *Hercules* fell into misfortune, and having slain *Iphitus*, retir'd to *Lydia*, and for a long time was there Slave to *Omphale*, a punishment which he had impos'd upon himself, for the Murder (1); according to the Custom of those Times; then indeed the *Lydian* Affairs enjoyed all
Peace

(1) Those who had been guilty of Murder became voluntary Exiles, and impos'd on themselves a certain Penance which they continued till they thereby thought themselves expiated. This Custom without doubt was deriv'd to 'em from the *Jews*, to whom God had assign'd certain Cities of Refuge, to which any one, who had

Peace and Security: but in *Greece*, and the Countries about it, the like Villanies were again reviv'd and broke out, there being none to repress or chastise their Insolence. It was therefore a very hazardous Journey to travel by Land to *Athens* from *Peloponnesus*: and *Pittheus*, giving him an exact account of each of these Thieves and Villains, of what strength they were, and with what cruelty they us'd all strangers, perswaded *Theseus* to go by Sea. But he, it seems, had long since been secretly fir'd with the glory of *Hercules*, and had him in the highest estimation, and was never more satisfy'd than in hearing Those that gave an account of him; especially Those that had seen him, or had been present at any Action or Saying of His that was remarkable: Insomuch that he was altogether in the same condition that *Themistocles* was, many Ages after, when he said that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not suffer him to sleep. Thus he having in such admiration the virtue of *Hercules*; in the Night his Dreams were all of that Hero's Actions, and in the Day a continual Emulation stir'd him up to perform the like. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of Cousin-Germans. For *Ethra* was the Daughter of *Pittheus*, and *Alcmena* of *Lyfidice*; now *Lyfidice* and *Pittheus* were Brother and Sister by *Hippodamia* and *Pelops*. He thought it therefore a dishonourable thing, and not to be endur'd, that *Hercules* shou'd every where purge both Land and Sea from those wicked Men,

had kill'd a Person at unawares, Num. chap. 35. ver. 11. might retire, and abide in it unto the Death of the High Priest, ver. 25. *Hercules* went first to *Pylos*, and from thence to *Amycla*, where he was expiated by *Deiphobus* the Son of *Hippolitus*; but falling very

ill, and consulting the Oracle of *Apollo*, he receiv'd for Answer that there would be no end of his Calamities till he had pass'd three Years in Slavery; upon which he sold himself a Slave to *Omphale*, Apollod. Lib. 11,

and that He himself shou'd fly from the like Adventures, that so fairly offer'd themselves to him; disgracing his reputed Father by a mean flight by Sea, and not shewing his true one as manifest a Character of the greatest of his Birth by noble and worthy Actions, as by the tokens that he brought with him, the Shoes and the Sword.

With this mind and these thoughts he set forward, with a design to do injury to no body; but to repel and revenge himself of all Those that shou'd offer any violence. And first of all, in a set Combate, he slew *Periphetes* in *Epidauria*, who us'd a Club for his Arms, and from thence had his name of *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, who seiz'd upon him, and forbad him to go forward in his Journey. Being pleas'd with the Club, he took it, and made it his Weapon; making the same use of it as *Hercules* had made of the Lion's Skin, which he wore as evidence of what a prodigious size the Monster was that he slew; and to the same end *Theseus* carry'd about him this Club; overcome indeed by Him, but now, in His Hand, invincible.

* ΠΙΤΥΟ-
καμπηλις.

Passing on further towards the Isthmus of *Peloponnesus*, he slew *Sinnis* (1), who (from the way of murder he us'd) was firnam'd the * *Pine-bender*, after the same manner that he himself had destroy'd many others before. And This he did, not having either practis'd or ever learnt the art of bending these Trees, to shew that natural Strength is above all Art. This *Sinnis* had a Daughter of, most ex-

(1) When this Giant had worsted any one, he bent down two Pines 'till he had brought them to meet together, and having fasten'd an Arm, and a Leg of his wretched Captive to each of them, he let 'em loose; and they severally return'd to their proper situa-

tions, pulling with them the Limbs that had been respectively fasten'd to them. *Pausanias* tells us that One of those Pines was to be seen on the Banks of a River even in his time under the Reign of *Adrian*.

cellent

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cellent beauty and more than ordinary stature, call'd *Perigune*, who, when her Father was kill'd, fled, and was sought after with all diligence by *Theseus*; but She, flying into a place overgrown with many Shrubs and Rushes and wild Asparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they cou'd have a sense of her misfortune, and beg'd them to shelter her, with vows that if she escap'd she wou'd never cut them down or burn them: but *Theseus* calling upon her, and giving her his promise, that he wou'd use her with all respect, and offer her no injury, she came forth; and being enjoy'd by *Theseus*, bore a Son to him nam'd *Menalippus*: but afterwards she was married to *Deioneus* the Son of *Eurytus*, the *Oechalian*, *Theseus* himself giving her to him. And *Ioxus*, the Son of this *Menalippus*, who was born to *Theseus*, accompany'd *Ornytus* in the Colony that he carried with him into *Caria*, from whom the People call'd *Ioxides* have their name; who have this custom deriv'd down to them from their Fathers, never to burn either Rushes, or wild Asparagus, but to honour and worship them.

About this time there was a wild Sow at *Crommyon*,⁽¹⁾ which they call'd *Phæa*, a Beast not to be overlookt or despis'd, being of great fierceness and very hard to be overcome: This *Theseus* kill'd, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not seem to perform all his great Exploits out of mere necessity; being also of opinion, that as it was the part of a brave Man, in his own defence to engage with villanous and wicked Men, so to be the Aggressor in fighting

(1) *Crommyon* or *Cromyon* was a Borough in the Territory of *Corinth*, from whence it was distant about 120 Furlongs, as we are told by *Thucydides*. There this wild Sow had taken up her Abode, and *Strabo* tells us that she was the Mother of the *Calydonian Boar*. Lib. viii.

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and exposing himself to such wild Beasts as were famous for Fierceness and Cruelty. Others relate that this *Phæa* was a Woman who made a trade of Robbing, remarkable for Cruelty and Lust, that liv'd in *Cromyon*, and had the name of *Sow* given her from the beastliness of her Life and Conversation, and that afterwards she was kill'd by *Theseus*.

He slew also *Sciron*, upon the borders of *Megara*, casting him down from the Rocks; being, as most report, a notorious Robber of all Passengers; and, as others say, accusom'd out of insolence and wantonness to stretch forth his Feet to Strangers, commanding them to wash 'em; and then with a kick to thrust them down the Rock into the Sea. But the Writers of *Megara*, in contradiction to the receiv'd report, and as (1) *Simonides* expresses it, *Fighting with all Antiquity*, contend, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber nor Committer of Injuries and Affronts, but a Punisher of all such, and full of all Humanity and Friendship to good and just Men: For (say they) *Æacus* was ever esteem'd a Man of the greatest Sanctity of all the *Greeks*; and *Cycbreus* the *Salaminian* was honour'd at *Athens* with Divine Worship; and the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* are not unknown to any one. Now *Sciron* was Son-in-law to *Cycbreus*, and Father-in-law to *Æacus*, and Grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both of 'em Sons of *Erideis* the Daughter of *Sciron*, and *Carichlo*: therefore it is not probable, that the Best should make these Alliances with the Worst of Men, giving and receiving mutually what was of greatest value and most dear to 'em. Besides, they

(1) There were four of that Name, but at four different times, all of them Poets, and Historians, so that it will be very difficult to determine which of them it is, whose Testimony is here brought in by *Plutarch*. I take him to be elder than that *Simonides Amorginus*, who flourish'd about the thirtieth Olympiad, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*.

relate

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relate that *Theseus* did not slay *Sciron* in his first Journey to *Athens*, but afterwards, when he took *Eleusis*, a City then in possession of the *Megarians*, having circumvented *Diocles* the Governor. These are the Contradictions which are found between the Writers of this Story.

In *Eleusis* he kill'd *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, in a wrestling Match. And going on a little further, in the City of *Hermione*, he slew *Damastes*, otherwise call'd *Procrustes*, (1) by force making him even to his own Beds, as he himself was us'd to do with all Strangers. These acts he did in imitation of *Hercules*. For That Hero returned always upon the aggressors the same sort of Violence which They had offer'd to Others: for instance, he (2) sacrific'd *Busyris*, slew *Anteus* in wrestling, worsted *Cycnus* at single Combat, and kill'd *Termerus* by breaking his Skull in pieces, (from whence they say comes the Proverb of *A Termerian Mischief*) for it seems *Termerus* kill'd all the

(1) *Hyginus* has very well describ'd the malicious Wickedness of that Gyant. He had, saith he, Beds of several sizes, and when he lit upon a Traveller, if he was a tall Man he made him lodge on one of his short Beds, and cut off so much of him as exceeded the length of the Bed, whereon he was laid; and if his Guest was a short Man he provided him with a Bed of the longest size, and by the help of his Machines he drew him out to the length of it; for this Reason he was call'd *Procrustes*, signifying one, who draws, or extends in length by Force and Violence.

(2) *Busyris* the Son of *Neptune* and *Lysianassa* was King of *Egypt*. His Custom was to offer up strangers in sacrifice to *Jupiter*. This Treatment he intended for

Hercules, who suffer'd himself to be bound, and carry'd to the Altar, where having burst the Cords he sacrific'd the Tyrant himself together with his Son *Amphidamas*.

Anteus was King of *Lydia*, and the Son of the Earth, who supply'd him with fresh Strength and Vigour so often as he touch'd her. For this Reason *Hercules* held him up in his Arms, and strangled him.

There were two Persons of the Name of *Cycnus*, and *Hercules* fought with them both. The first was Son of *Mars*, and *Pyrene*. As He and *Hercules* were fighting a Thunderbolt shot between them, and parted them. The Other was likewise the Son of *Mars*, and *Pelopon*, and was slain by *Hercules*.

Passengers

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Passengers that he met, by running, with all his force, His Head against Theirs. Thus proceeded *Theseus* in the Punishment of evil Men, who underwent the same Torments from Him, which They had inflicted upon Others; justly suffering after the manner of their own Injustice.

As he went forward on his Journey, and was come as far as the River *Cephissus*, (1) some of the Race of the *Phytalide* met him and saluted him: (2) and upon his desire to use the Purifications then in Custom, they perform'd them with all the usual Ceremonies; and having offer'd propitiatory Sacrifices to the Gods, they invited him and entertain'd him at their House, who before in all his Journey had not met any thing like Civility.

*This answers in some measure to our June.

'Tis reported that on the eighth day of the Month *Cronius*, (now call'd * *Hecatombæon*) he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he found the publick Affairs full of Confusion, and divided into Parties and Factions; *Ægeus* also and his own private Family labouring under the same Distemper: for *Medea*, having fled from *Corinth*, and promis'd *Ægeus* to make him, by her Art, capable of having Children, was entertain'd by him, and admitted to his Bed; She had the first knowledge of *Theseus*, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know; and He being in Years, full of Jealousies and Suspensions, and fearing every thing by reason of the Faction that was then in the City, she easily persuaded him to poison *Theseus* at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him as a Civility to a Stranger. *Theseus* coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to

(1) *Pausanias* calls these *Phytalide* the Descendants of *Phytalus*, with whom *Ceres* had entrusted the Superintendency of her holy Mysteries, in recompence for the Hospitality with which he had receiv'd

and entertain'd her in his House. (2) Tho' he had destroy'd none but common Thieves, and Robbers, he thought himself unfit to be admitted to the holy Mysteries without Expiation.

discover

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discover himself first; but being willing to give his Father the occasion of first finding him out, the Meat being on the Table, (1) he drew his Sword as if he design'd to carve with it, and so shew'd it him. *Ageus* upon the sudden, perceiving the Token, threw down the Cup of Poison, and discovering his Son, embrac'd him; and having gather'd together all his Citizens, he own'd him publickly before them, who receiv'd him with great Satisfaction for the Fame of his Greatness and Bravery: 'Tis also said, that when the Cup fell, the Poison was spilt there where now is the Inclosure in the Temple call'd *Delphinion*; for in that place stood *Ageus's* House, and the Statue of *Mercury* on the East-side of the Temple is call'd the *Mercury* of *Ageus's* Gate.

Now the Sons of *Pallas*, who before were in hopes and expectations of recovering the King-

(1) If this passage has not been corrupted *Plutarch* must certainly be mistaken as to the Customs of those Times, for the Heroes did not cut with the same Sword with which they fought, but with a large Kaife, or Cutlace, which always hung near it, that they might be ready upon Occasion to perform the Functions required of them in their Sacrifices. That this was the Custom manifestly appears from a Passage in the third Book of the *Iliad*; where *Homer* saith

Ἀτρεΐδης ὃ ἔρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι,
μαχαίραν
ἢ οἱ παρ' ἑίφορος μέγα κλεῖον
αἰὲν ἄωρον,
Ἄρνων ἐκ κεφαλῶν τέμνε
τρίχας.

—Then draws the Grecian Lord
His Cutlace sheath'd beside his
ponderous Sword,
From the sing'd Victims crops the
curling Hair. Pope.

So that *Theseus* did not upon this occasion make use of the Sword which had been deliver'd to him by his Father's Directions, but his Cutlace, in drawing whereof it was necessary for him to cast his Mantle backwards, and thereby give his Father a sight of his Sword. I cou'd be perswaded to believe that one Word wou'd make this Passage clear; that is by adding of ἑίφορος. ἢ δέκνυνεν ἑίφορος ἐκείνω. *Theseus* drew his Cutlace as if he design'd to carve with it, and thereby exposing his Sword to his Father's View, *Ageus* on a sudden perceiving the Token, &c.

dom,

dom, at least after *Ægeus's* Death without Issue, as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd the Successor to the Crown, highly resenting, that *Ægeus* (1) an adopted Son only of *Pandion*, and not at all related to the Family of *Ereätheus*, shou'd first obtain the Kingdom, and that again after him, *Theseus* a new-comer and a stranger shou'd do the like, broke out into an open War: And dividing themselves into two Companies, one part of them march'd openly from *Sphettus* with their Father against the City; the other, hiding themselves in the Ward of *Gargettus*, lay in Ambush with a design to set upon the Enemy on both sides. They had with them a Crier of the Ward of *Agnus*, nam'd *Leos*, who discover'd to *Theseus* all the designs of the *Pallantide*: He immediately fell upon Them that lay in Ambuscade, and cut 'em all off; which *Pallas* and his Company hearing, fled and were dispersed.

Pallene and Agnus, the Names of two Wards or Δήμοι in Athens.

From hence they say is deriv'd the Custom for the Ward of the *Palleneans* to have no Marriages, or any Alliance, with the People of the Ward of *Agnus*, nor to suffer their Criers to pronounce in their Proclamations these words, solemnly us'd in all other parts of the Country, ἄνγετε Λεῶς (Hear ye * People!) so great is their hatred to the very name of *Leos* for the foulness of his Treason.

* Λεῶς, *Leos*, is the Attick word for People.

Now *Theseus*, longing to be in Action, and withal desirous to make himself popular, left *Athens* to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*; which did no small mischief to the Inhabitants of *Tetrapolis*. And having overcome it, he brought it alive in Triumph thro' the City, and afterwards sacrific'd it to *Apollo Delphinus*. As to what con-

(1) It had been actually reported that *Ægeus* was the Son of *Scyrius*, and that *Pandion* was desirous to have him pass for His.

The *Pallantide* did not spare spreading a Report so advantageous to their Purposes.

cerns

cérns *Hecale*, and the Story of her receiving and entertaining *Theseus* in this Expedition, it seems to be not altogether void of Truth; for from hence the People round about, meeting upon a certain Day, offer'd a Sacrifice, which they call'd *Hecalesium*, to *Jupiter Hecalion*, in honour of *Hecale*, whom by a pleasing diminutive they call'd *Hecalene*, because when she entertain'd *Theseus* while he was but a Youth, she, as the Custom of old People is, call'd and caress'd him by such diminutive names: and having made a Vow to *Jupiter* for him as he was going to the Fight, that if he return'd in Safety, she wou'd offer Sacrifices in Thanks for it, and dying before he came back, she receiv'd the foremention'd return of her Hospitality by the command of *Theseus*, as (1) *Philochorus* relates the Story.

Not long after arriv'd the third time from *Crete* the Collectors of the Tribute, which the *Athenians* paid 'em upon the following occasion. (2) *Androgeus* having been thought to be treacherously murder'd about the Confines of *Attica*, not only *Minos* put the *Athenians* to extream inconveniences by a perpetual War, but the Gods also laid waste their Country; for both Famine and Pestilence lay heavy upon 'em, and even their Rivers were dry'd up. But being told by the Oracle, that if they appeas'd and reconcil'd *Minos*, the Anger of the Gods would cease, and they

(1) This *Philochorus* was an *Athenian*, and liv'd at the same time with *Ptolemy Philopater*, about 200 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. He was the Author of several valuable Works, which are lost, such as the History of the *Athenians*, or of *Attica*, in 17 Books. A Catalogue of the *Archons*. A Book of Sacrifices. The Origine of *Salamine*. Two

Books of the *Olympiads*, and 17 of the Battles of the *Athenians*.

(2) *Ægeus* had caus'd him to be murder'd, because he was in the Interest of the *Pallantide*, and had promis'd to assist them. Others say he was slain by the Bull of *Marathon*, and that *Minos* unjustly accused the *Athenians* as the Authors of his Death.

should

should enjoy Rest from the Miseries they labour'd under; they sent Ambassadors, and with much Supplication were at last reconcil'd; having enter'd into an Agreement to send to *Crete* (1) every ninth Year a Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins, as the Writers generally agree.

Now the most tragical Story that goes about concerning this matter, says, that the *Minotaure* destroy'd them in the *Labyrinth*, or that they wander'd about in it, and finding no possible means of getting out, miserably ended their Lives there; (2) and that this *Minotaure* was (as *Euripides* has it)

*A mingled Form, where two strange Shapes combin'd;
And different Natures, Bull and Man, were join'd.*

But *Philochorus* writes, that the *Cretans* will by no means allow the truth of This, but say, that the *Labyrinth* was only an ordinary Prison, having no other Ill in it, than that it secur'd the Prisoners from escaping; and that *Minos*, having instituted Games in Honour of *Androgeus*, gave as a Reward

(1) This Passage has been very much misunderstood by the Interpreters, particularly *Amiot*, who has translated it, *Upon Condition that for Nine Years together they shou'd be obliged to send annually into Crete, &c.* δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν does not signify for the space of Nine Years, but from Nine Years to Nine Years. Every Ninth Year. Of This we have frequent Examples. Some even in *Plutarch* himself. How cou'd the *Athenians* consent to such a Tribute, which being paid Nine Years together must have carry'd off all their Youth? whereas an Interval of Nine Years wou'd give them a breathing space, and suffer them to pay the

Tribute without exhausting the City.

(2) It had been a Custom with *Minos* to sacrifice to *Neptune* once every Year the most beautiful Bull that cou'd be found. One day he met with one so extremely handsome that he was charm'd with it, and instead of sacrificing it offer'd up Another in its stead. *Neptune* being provoked hereat made *Pasiphae* in love with this Bull, and *Dadalus* so far prostituted his Art as to make it instrumental in gratifying so horrible a passion, the Fruit of which was a Monster call'd *Minotaurus*, partly a Man, and partly a Bull. This is what we find in the Fable.

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to the Victors those Youths that till that time had been Prisoners in the Labyrinth : and that the first that overcame in those Games, was (1) one of the greatest Power and Command among 'em, nam'd *Taurus*, a Man of no merciful or sweet Disposition, but that carry'd himself towards those *Athenian* Children, that were made his Prize, in a most proud and insolent manner. (2) And even *Aristotle* himself, in the Account that he gives of the Government of the *Bottians*, is manifestly of Opinion, that these Youths were not slain by *Minos*, but that they spent the remainder of their days in Slavery at *Crete* ; and that the *Cretans*, to acquit themselves of an ancient Vow which they had made, were us'd to send an Offering of the first Fruits of their Men to *Delphi*, and that some Descendants of these *Athenian* Slaves were mingled with 'em and sent amongst 'em ; (3) and that not

(1) This is more probable than the manner wherein *Palæphatus* explains the Fable. He saith that this same *Taurus* was one of *Minos* his Courtiers, that *Pasiphaë* fell in love with him, and that *Minos* having discover'd the Intreague sent the presumptuous Lover to be a Servant to his Shepherds that fed their Flocks upon the Mountains. That the young Galant rebell'd, and became so formidable that tho' *Minos* did all he cou'd to have him seiz'd he cou'd not gain his ends, but lost All he sent against him, insomuch that he thought it advisable to make use of Him, to punish such of his offending Subjects, or of his Enemies as fell into his Hands, and of whom he was desirous to get rid ; and that having taken *Theseus* in a Combat he sent him to *Taurus*, who was kill'd by *Theseus*, *Ariadne* having privately

provided him with a Sword for that purpose.

(2) Among the Works of *Aristotle* which are lost there is One, wherein he gives a Description of 158 Communities, which is the Book here quoted by *Plutarch*.

(3) It is certain that several Colonies have been sent out of *Crete* into *Italy*. *Strabo* mentions the Inhabitants of *Brundisium* and the *Salentines* as such: It appears moreover from a passage in the same Author, that the *Cretans* who passed into *Italy* did it under the Conduct of *Theseus*, and that they were join'd by another Body of their Countrymen, who had been transported out of *Crete* into *Sicily* on Board of Ships belonging to *Minos*; and that the first Band disagreeing with the last Comers, they remov'd into that Part of *Thrace* which is call'd *Bottian*.

being

The LIFE of

being able to get their Living there, they remov'd from thence, first into *Italy*, and inhabited the Country about *Apulia*; from thence again, that they remov'd to *Thrace*, and were nam'd *Bottieans* (1); and that This is the reason why in a certain Sacrifice, the *Bottiean* Girls sing a Hymn, beginning thus, *To Athens let us go*. And from This it appears how dangerous it is to incur the Hatred of a City that is Mistress of Eloquence and the Seat of the Muses. For *Minos* was always ill spoken of, and represented ever as a very ill man upon the *Athenian* Stages; (2) neither did *Hesiod* at all help him when he calls him *The most Royal Minos*, nor *Homer* when he stiles him (3) *The Companion of Jupiter*. But

(1) A great many of the *Bottieans* always retain'd a tender Remembrance of *Athens*, by reason of their Descent from thence; and I am of Opinion that upon This is founded that Passage in *Thucydides*, who reports that when the *Athenians* carry'd their Arms into *Bottiea*, and besieged *Spartole*, they had not undertaken that Siege but from the Hope they had conceiv'd of the Town's surrendring to them by reason of a Party among the Inhabitants who were on their side; but the contrary Party prevail'd, and receiv'd Succours from *Olinthus*.

(2) Here *Plutarch* falls into a Mistake, as have likewise several other Authors, both before and after him. There were Two of the Name of *Minos*, and they Both reign'd in *Crete*. One was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*; and the Other his Grandson, and the Son of *Lycastes*. The First was a Prince renown'd for his Justice, and for that Reason the Poets made him a Judge in the infernal Regions. The Other was a Tyrant. That which *Homer* and

Hesiod have said of the First, *Plutarch* has ascrib'd to the Second, as if there had been only Him of that Name. *Plato* has been guilty of the same Blunder twice, in his Dialogue called *Minos*; but *Plutarch* is more to be blamed, in that he cou'd not but have heard something that might have led him to make a Distinction between these two Princes, as appears from what follows, and which might have serv'd to convince him of the Truth, if so he had been minded; for *Diodorus Siculus* has very justly distinguished them in his sixth Book.

(3) The Passage to which *Plutarch* refers in this Place is in the 19th Book of the *Odyssey*. Διὸς μεγδλκ ὁπατῆρης, that is in effect, *One who converses with Jupiter*, which *Plato* thinks the highest Commendation that can be given to a Mortal. It is not unlikely but this Fiction of the Poets is grounded upon a Text of Scripture, where it is said of *Moses*, *And the Lord spake unto Moses Face to Face, as a Man speaketh to his Friend*. *Exod.* 33. 11.

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the (1) *Tragedians* prevailing, spread a very ill Character of him from the Stage, as of a cruel and inhuman Prince; though it be said that really *Minos* was a very good King and Lawgiver, and that (2) *Rhadamanthus* was a Judge under him, enforcing an Observance of the Statutes that He ordain'd.

Now when the time of the third Tribute was come, and that the Fathers who had any young men for their Sons, were obliged to produce them in order to take their Chance by Lot; there arose fresh discontents and accusations against *Aegeus* among the People, who were full of grief and indignation, that He, who was the cause of all their miseries, was the only Person exempt from the Punishment; but settling his Kingdom upon a Bastard and a Foreign Son, took no notice of Them.

(1) *Plutarch* has taken This from the *Minos* of *Plato*, where *Socrates* replies to Him, who had ask'd him how it came about that a King, who had been so highly prais'd by *Homer* and *Hesiod*, shou'd be reputed a Person of a barbarous, and cruel Disposition: Believe Me, saith He, whoever covets a good Reputation, and desires to secure it, ought above all Things to keep well with the Poets, whose Testimony is of great Weight, whether it tends to Praise or Dispraise; and in This *Minos* was wanting, for he can never be too much condemn'd for the Hostilities he committed against this City (*Athens*) the Seat of all sorts of Erudition, and where Tragedy in particular reigns in full Lustre, as in its native Soil, for here it had its first Being, and was not the Invention either of *Phrynichus* or *Thespis*. For Tragedy is a Poem full of Amusements, and naturally adapted to entertain, and divert

the People, and there it is that we find him continually pelted at by the Poets in just Revenge for the cruel Tribute he impos'd upon us. This is the Rock on which he split, the Hatred of the Athenians, which prov'd the source of all the ill Reports that have been spread of him so injurious to his Memory, tho' he was in truth an extraordinary good Man, a most upright Prince and excellent Legislator.

(2) This is likewise taken from the same Dialogue, wherein *Socrates*, after having observ'd that *Homer* in his *Odyssy* makes mention only of *Minos*, to whom he gives a Scepter of Gold, adds that *Rhadamanthus* also was a very good Man, and had been the Disciple of *Minos*, who did not indeed instruct him in the Science proper for a King, but taught him how to obey his Orders in administering Justice to the Subjects and putting his Laws in Execution.

whom he left destitute and without Children. These things very sensibly affected *Theseus*, who thinking it but just not to avoid, but rather partake of the sufferings of his Fellow-Citizens, offer'd himself for One without any Lot. All the rest admired him for the greatness of his Spirit, and were greatly taken with him for his care of the Publick : and *Ageus*, after all his Prayer and Intreaty, finding him inflexible and not to be persuaded, proceeded to the chusing of the rest by Lot. But (1) *Hellanicus* writes, that the *Athenians* did not send the young Men and Virgins as they were chosen by Lot, but that (2) *Minos* himself coming thither made his own choice, and that he pitch'd upon *Theseus* before all others, upon conditions agreed to between 'em, that the (3) *Athenians* shou'd furnish 'em with a Ship, and that the young Men who were to sail with him shou'd carry no Weapon of War; but that if the *Minotaure* was destroy'd, this Tribute shou'd cease.

There appearing no hopes of Safety or Return, at the two former Payments of this Tribute, They sent forth the Ship with a black Sail, as to unavoidable destruction : but now *Theseus* en-

(1) There were two Historians of that Name, One a Native of *Mitylene*, and the Other of *Miletus*. The First was much more ancient than the Second, for he liv'd before *Herodotus*. He was the Author of several Works which are all lost. The History of *Attica* was One of them, of which *Thucydides* has given us the following Character; That it was written in a very close concise style, but was by no degrees exact as to Chronology.

(2) *Diodorus* agrees with *Hellanicus* in this particular. He saith that *Minos* march'd to *Athens* e-

very seventh Year at the Head of a powerful Army to exact the Tribute.

(3) The *Athenians* in Respect to their King, and for the Credit of the State, were to furnish the Ship on which *Theseus* with the rest of the Tribute were to embark, to the End the Voyage might appear voluntary, without the Air of Compulsion or Slavery. It was thought necessary to give this Explication of the Condition, because it has been generally misunderstood.

couraging

couraging his Father, and speaking greatly of himself, as confident that he should kill the *Minotaure*, *Ægeus* gave the Pilot another Sail which was White, commanding him as he return'd, if *Theseus* escap'd, to make use of That; but if not, to sail with the Black one, and give it as a sign of his Misfortune and Sorrow. But *Simonides* says, that the Sail which *Ægeus* deliver'd to the Pilot, was not White, but Purple dy'd in Grain, with the (1) Flower of a certain Tree, and that This was to be a sign of their Escape. *Amarfyadas Phereclus*, as *Simonides* writes, was Pilot of the Ship. But *Philochorus* says, that *Theseus* had a Pilot (2) sent him by *Scirus*, from *Salamis*, nam'd *Naustheus*, and another Sailor* to manage the Head, nam'd *Phæax*; because as yet the *Athenians* (3) had not applyed themselves to Navigation; and that *Scirus* did This, because one

* κυβερνήτης
της πρεσβυς

of

(1) *Plutarch* makes use in this place of *Simonides* his own Words, who calls ἄνθος πίνυς the Flower of the Holm Oak, what the Ancients call'd πίνυς καρπὸν, *Coccum Ilicis*, the Fruit, the Berry of the Oak, which was of the Colour of Scarlet, and consequently much used by the Dyers. It is said that this *Coccum Ilicis* is full of little Worms, the blood of which produces that beautiful Colour, which from thence is called Vermilion, a *Vermiculis*. *Coccum Ilicis celerrimè in Vermiculum se mutans*. *Plin.* xxiv. iv.

(2) *Scirus*, who was an *Athenian*, could not provide *Theseus* with a Pilot from *Athens*, because the *Athenians*, as *Plutarch* tells us in the following Lines, had not as yet apply'd themselves to maritime Affairs, and consequently had no Pilots amongst them; for

this reason he had One sent him from the Isle of *Salamis*, where they had them very expert.

(3) We are told the first Ship they put to Sea was the *Argo*; but that cannot be, according to the Testimony of *Eumelus*, a Poet as ancient as *Homer*, who saith that *Æetes* was of *Corinth*, and that he sail'd from thence to *Colchos* with his Daughter *Medea*. But be That as it will; whether *Æetes* his Ship, or That of the *Argonauts* was the first Sailor, is not very material as to the Time, for *Theseus* accompanied *Jason*, in his Expedition to *Colchos*, from whence he brought *Medea* back into *Greece*. That which is most certain is, that the *Athenians* did not for a long time apply themselves to Shipping. *Thucydides* tells us expressly in his first Book that they did not begin to make any Figure

of the young Men, *Menesthes*, was his Daughter's Son; and This the Monuments of *Nausitheus* and *Phæax*, built by *Theseus* in *Phalerum*, near the Temple of *Sciron*, witness. He adds also, that the Feast nam'd *Cybernesia* (or Feast of *Pilots*) was instituted in their Honour. The Lot being cast, and *Theseus* taking with him out of the *Prytanæum* Those upon whom it fell, went to the *Delphinian* Temple, and made an Offering to *Apollo* for their safe return, which was a Bough of a consecrated Olive-Tree bound about with white Wool.

Having thus perform'd his Devotion, he went to Sea, the sixth day of the Month *Munichion*, (i. e. *March*;) on which Day, even till this time, the *Athenians* send their Virgins to the same Temple to make Supplication to the Gods. It is farther reported that he was commanded by the Oracle at *Delphi* to make *Venus* his Guide, and to invoke Her as the Companion and Conductress of his Voyage, to whom as he was sacrificing a She-Goat by the Sea-side, it was suddenly chang'd into an He-goat, and for this Cause that Goddess had the

* Τειχίος,
signifying a
Goat.

Name of * *Epitragia*.

When he arriv'd at *Crete*, as most of the ancient Historians as well as Poets write, having a Clew of Thread given him by *Ariadne*, who had fall'n in love with him, and being instructed by her in the

at Sea till ten or twelve Years after the Battle of *Marathon*. However *Homer* saith that they sent fifty Vessels to the Siege of *Troy*; but they were Transport Ships, or open Boats, and not Men of War. And even That was no small matter if we consider that having not begun to apply themselves to Shipping till under *Theseus*, they should be able in the Space of thirty or forty Years to send so considerable a supply to

Agamemnon. But That which is most surprizing, is, that they should be so long before they made any farther Progress, for it was the Space of well nigh 700 Years between the Siege of *Troy*, and the Battle of *Marathon*, and that so soon after that Battle they should get the Reputation of being the most expert Seamen in the World; for it became a common Proverb in *Greece*, *The Athenians for the Sea*.

use of it, which was to conduct him through all the Windings of the Labyrinth, he escap'd out of it, and slew the *Minotaure*, and sail'd back, taking along with him *Ariadne*, and the young *Athenian* Captives. *Pherecydes* (1) adds, that he bor'd Holes in the Keels of the *Cretan* Ships, to hinder their pursuit. And *Demon* (2) writes, that *Taurus* the Chief Captain of *Minos* was slain in a Naval Combat by *Theseus* in the Mouth of the Haven, immediately before he set sail for *Athens*. But *Philochorus* gives us the Story thus, That at the exhibiting the Games which *Minos*, had caus'd to be annually celebrated in honour of his Son, *Taurus*, who they thought would certainly bear away the Prize from All, as he had done before, labour'd under the Envy of all *Crete*. For his Power grew grievous and insupportable by reason of the Insolence of his Manners; and besides, he had been accus'd of too near a Familiarity with *Pasiphae* the Queen: which was the reason that when *Theseus* desir'd the Combat, *Minos* so easily comply'd. And as it was a Custom in *Crete* that the Ladies also should be admitted to the sight of these Games, *Ariadne*, being present, was strangely surpriz'd at the manly Beauty of *Theseus*, and struck with admiration at the vigour and address which he shew'd in the Combat, overcoming all that encountred with him. *Minos* too being extreamly pleas'd, espe-

(1) There were Two of that Name: One of the Isle of *Syros*, a great Philosopher and Divine, the Master of *Pythagoras* and *Thales*. He was the first among them that asserted the Immortality of the Soul, and found out the Cause of the Eclipses. He flourish'd in the Days of *Tullus Hostilius*, 550 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. The Other was an Historian, born in the Isle of *Leria*.

He was not so ancient as the first, but was before *Herodotus*, who was not above eight Years old when this *Pherecydes* flourish'd, 476 or 477 Years before Christ.

(2) He was a Native of *Cyrene*. *Diogenes Laertius* saith that he wrote a Treatise concerning the Philosophers. *Athenaus* likewise attributes to him another Treatise concerning *Byzantium*. It is not known in what time he lived.

cially since *Taurus* was vanquish'd and disgraced, voluntarily gave up the young Captives to *Theseus*, and remitted the Tribute to the *Athenians*. But (1) *Clidemus* gives an account of these things peculiar to himself, very prolix, and beginning a great way off: That it was a Decree consented to by all *Greece*, (2) that no Vessel from any place, containing above five Persons, should be permitted to sail, *Jason* only excepted, who was made Captain of the great Ship *Argo*, to sail about and scour the Sea of Pirates. But (3) *Dædalus*, having escap'd from *Crete*, and flying by Sea to *Athens*, and *Minos*, contrary to this Decree, pursuing him with his great Ships, was forc'd by a Storm upon *Sicily*, and there ended his Life. After his decease, *Deucalion* his Son, desiring a quarrel with the *Athenians*, sent to them, commanding that they should deliver up *Dædalus* to him; threatening, upon their refusal, to put to Death all the young *Athenians* whom his Father *Minos* had received as Hostages from the City. To this angry Message *Theseus* return'd a very gentle and mild Answer, excusing himself, that he could not deliver up *Dædalus*, who was so nearly related to him, being his Cousin-German;

(1) The Ancients quote him as the Author of the History of *Attica*, and of the unexpected Return of Those who had been long absent from their Country. *Meursius* is of Opinion that This is not the *Clidemus* meant here by *Plutarch*, but *Clitodemus* the First of any that wrote of *Attica*.

(2) There does not appear among all the Remains of Antiquity the least Foundation for what is asserted here by *Clidemus*. Perhaps this was a sort of Embargo laid in *Greece*, to the end the Ship de-

sign'd for *Colchos* might the sooner have her Complement.

(3) He fled first into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* was King. *Minos* pursued him with a great Fleet, and landing upon the Island, sent to demand the Fugitive. The King promis'd to surrender him, and invited *Minos* to his Court, where he caus'd him to be stifled in a Bath, and restoring the Corps to his Officers, pretended that he fell unfortunately into a Caldron of hot Water, which was the Cause of his Death. *Diodor*.

for

for his Mother was *Merope*, the Daughter of *Erectheus*. In the mean while he was very busy in preparing a Navy, part of it at home near the Village of the *Thymætadae*, being a place of no resort, and far from any common Roads; the other part under his Grandfather *Pittheus*'s Direction at *Træzene*, that so his Design might be carried on with the greatest Secrecy. As soon as ever his Fleet was in readiness he set Sail, taking with him *Dædalus* and the other Fugitives from *Crete* for his Guides; and none of the *Cretans* having any knowledge of his coming, but imagining, when they saw his Fleet, that they were Friends, and Vessels of their own, he soon made himself Master of the Haven; and immediately making a descent farther into the Island, he arriv'd at *Gnoffus* (the City of the King's Residence) before any notice of his coming could be receiv'd; and joining Battle before the Gates of the *Labyrinth* he put *Deucalion* and all his Guards to the Sword. The Government by this means falling to *Ariadne*, he made a League with her, and receiv'd the Captives of her, and ratify'd a perpetual Friendship between the *Athenians* and the *Cretans*, whom he engag'd under an Oath never again to make War with *Athens*.

There are yet many other Reports about these things, and as Many concerning *Ariadne*, but None of any Certainty or Truth. For Some relate, that she hang'd her self, being deserted by *Theseus*. Others, that she was carried away by his Sailors to the Isle of *Naxos*, and marry'd to *Ornarus*, one of the Priests of *Bacchus*; and that *Theseus* left her, because he fell in love with Another:

Δεινὸς ἄδ' μιν ἔπειρ' ἐρῶς Πανοπήϊο^ς Αἴγλης.

For Ægle's Love had pierc'd his manly Breast.

For this Verse, as *Hereas* the *Megarian* witnesseth, was formerly in the Poet *Hesiod's* Works, but put out by *Pisistratus*, in like manner as he added This other in *Homer's Description of the State of the Dead*, to gratify the *Athenians*,

Θησεία, Περικλοῦν τε Θεῶν ἀγροδείκετα τέκνα.

Theseus, Perithous, both Sons of Gods.

Others report, that *Ariadne* had two Sons by *Theseus*, *Oenopion* and *Staphylus*; and among These is the Poet *Ion*, of *Chios*, who writes thus of his own native City,

Τῷ ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Ὀινοπίων.

Built by Oenopion the great Theseus' Son.

And yet whatever in this Account has the more general Warrant of History, and whatever the Poets have, as it were, put into every body's Mouth, is diversifyed by *Pæon* the *Amuthusian*, who has set forth a different Relation of it, which has something very peculiar in it. For he writes, that *Theseus* being driven by a Storm upon the Isle of *Cypros*, and having aboard with him *Ariadne*, big with Child, and extreamly discompos'd with the rolling of the Sea, set her on Shore, and left her there alone in that weak Condition, to return to and help the Ship; where, on a sudden, by a violent Wind, he was again forc'd out to Sea. That the Women of the Island receiv'd *Ariadne* very kindly, and administer'd all manner of Comfort to her, when she was extreamly afflicted and almost dead

dead with Grief for being left behind. That they counterfeited kind Letters, and deliver'd them to her, as sent from *Theseus*; and, when she fell in Labour, were very diligent in performing to her all the Offices that belong to Women: But that she dy'd in Child-bed before she could be deliver'd, and was by them honourably interr'd. That soon after *Theseus* return'd, and was greatly afflicted for her loss, and at his departure left a considerable Sum of Money among those of the Island, ordering them to sacrifice and pay Divine Honour to *Ariadne*; and caus'd two little Statues to be made and dedicated to her, one of Silver and the other of Brass. Moreover, that on the second day of the Month *Gorpiaus*, (i. e. *September*) they have This among other Ceremonies, a Youth lies in Bed, and with his voice and gesture counterfeits all the pains of a Woman in Travail; and that the *Amathusians* call the Grove in which they shew her Tomb, the Grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

Different yet from this Account some of the *Naxians* write, that there were two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*; one of whom, they say, was married to *Bacchus* in the Isle of *Naxos*, and bore a Son nam'd *Staphylus*. But that the other, of a later Age, was ravished by *Theseus*, and being afterwards deserted by him, retir'd to *Naxos*, with her Nurse *Corcyna*, whose Grave they yet shew. That this *Ariadne* also dy'd there, and was worship'd by the Islanders, but in a different manner from the former: for Her day is celebrated with Feasts and Revels, (1) and an universal Joy; but all

(1) This passage is remarkable. more honourable than Those ob-
The Feasts which were celebrated serv'd in Memory of the Other,
in Honour of the first *Ariadne*, who had been stoln by *Theseus*.
Her whom *Bacchus* marry'd, were In the Former was nothing to be
seen

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all the Sacrifices perform'd to the latter, are mingled with Sorrow and Mourning.

Now *Theseus*, in his return from *Crete*, put in at (1) *Delos*, and having sacrificed to the God of the Island, and dedicated to the Temple the Image of *Venus* (2) which *Ariadne* had given him, he danc'd with the young *Athenians* a Dance, that, in memory of him, is still preserv'd among the Inhabitants of *Delos*, which in a certain order had turnings and returnings, that imitated the intricate windings of the Labyrinth. And this Dance,

seen but Joy and Gladness, in the Latter the Marks of Grief. The first denoted that the Heroine was not dead, but become a Divinity; the other signified quite contrary. It was in this View that *Alexander* was enrag'd at *Agathocles*, and had thrown him to the Lions for having wept as he pass'd by the Tomb of *Hephestion*, as if he had thought that Favourite dead indeed, if *Perdiccas* had not saved his Life, by affirming that the new Deity had appear'd to Him, and that *Agathocles* did not in the least doubt of his Divinity, but that in the Infirmary of humane Nature, he could not forbear shedding a Tear when that Object presented his Friend to his Memory.

(1) *Theseus*, before he left *Athens*, had made a Vow, that the *Athenians* should annually send Deputies to *Delos* aboard the same Vessel whereon he was ready to embark, having first crown'd it with some Boughs of the consecrated Olive; which Deputies were to perform a Sacrifice to *Apollo*, as they did, in a religious Observance of the Vow, for many years after. This Deputation

was termed *Theoria*, a Visit to the God; the Deputies *Theoroi*, and the Vessel *Theoris*. As soon as the High Priest had crown'd the Vessel in Order for her Departure, the City was purified, and no Criminal was put to Death till her Return.

(2) This Image, or Statue, was of Wood carv'd by *Dadalus*, who made a Present of it to *Ariadne*. After her Death *Theseus* consecrated it to *Apollo*, fearing, in case he took it with him, it would continually represent to him the Memory of that Princess, and renew his Sorrow. *Pausanias* tells us, that this Statue was to be seen at *Delos* even in His Days; that it was very small; that length of time had worn out its right Hand, and that it ended in a Square below. It is to be observed, that before *Dadalus* none of the Statues had Feet to them; He was the first that gave them that Finishing; for which Reason it was said that his Statues were alive, and walked. But this Commendation was due only to his last Works, his first Performances were in the antique Style.

as *Dicaearchus* writes, is call'd among the *Delians* the *Crane* (1). This he danc'd round the *Ceratonian* Altar, so call'd from its being compacted together, and adorn'd only with Horns taken from the left side of the Head. They say also, that he instituted Games in *Delos*, where he was the First that began the Custom of giving a Palm to the Victors.

When they were come near the Coast of *Attica*, so great was the Joy for the happy success of their Voyage, that neither *Theseus* himself, nor the Pilot, remembred to hang out the Sail which should have been the token of their safety to *Ægeus*; who, knowing nothing of their Success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arriv'd at the Port of *Phaleron*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most part full of grief for the loss of their King; Others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him (2) with Garlands for so acceptable News; which he indeed accepted of, but instead of wearing them

(1) *Callimachus*, in his Hymn for *Delos*, makes mention of this Dance without naming it. He saith it was a round Dance; and that *Theseus*, at the first Institution of it, lead the Brawl himself. I am of Opinion it was call'd the *Crane*, from its Figure; because He that led it was at the Head, folding and unfolding the Circle in Imitation of the Turns and Windings

in the Labyrinth, just as in a Flight of Cranes there is One always at the Head to conduct the Rest, who follow in a Ring, or Circle.

(2) This Custom was brought from *Delphi*. They who went thither to consult the Oracle, and receiv'd a favourable Answer, return'd home with a Crown of Laurel on their Heads.

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on his Head he hung them upon his (1) Herald's Staff: and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, he stay'd without, for fear of disturbing the Holy Rites; but as soon as the Libation was ended, he entered, and related the whole Story of the King's Death: upon the hearing of which, with great Lamentations, and a confused tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the City. And from hence they say it comes that to this day, in the *Osophoria*, or *Feast of Boughs*, the Herald is not crown'd, but his Staff, and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this shout, ελελεῦ, ιὲ, ιὲ, (*eleleu, iou, iou*) of which confus'd sounds the (2) first was wont to be used by Men in haste, or at a Triumph, the other is proper to those that are in great Consternation or Trouble.

Theseus, after the Funeral of his Father, paid his Vows to *Apollo* the seventh day of *Pyanepsion*, (i.e. *October*;) for on that day the Youth that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boiling Pulse at this Feast is deriv'd from hence, because the young men that had escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boiling it in one common Pot feasted themselves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together. Hence also they carry in Procession an Olive-branch bound about with Wool (such as they then made use of in their Supplications) which they call *Eiresione*,

(1) The Politeness and Delicacy of the Herald's Behaviour on this Occasion, is not to be wonder'd at. The Heralds in those times were Men of the first Rank, and their Office had nothing in it but what was Great, and Noble.

(2) The first denotes the Precipitation with which *Theseus* march'd towards *Athens*, in a Readiness to force his way if he was refus'd Entrance; the other represents the Trouble and Grief with which he was seiz'd at the News of his-Father's Death.

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crown'd with all sorts of Fruits, to signify that Scarcity and Barrenness was ceas'd; singing in their Procession this Song,

Ἐιρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρειν καὶ πίνοντας ἄρτους
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσααδ
Καὶ κυλικ' εὐζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθάδιδης.

*Eirefione Figs produce,
And wholesom Bread and cheerful Oil,
And Honey, labouring Bees sweet toil;
But above all Wine's noble juice:
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt steep,
And full of joy receive soft Sleep.*

Altho' some are of Opinion, that this Ceremony is retain'd in memory of the (1) *Heraclide*, who were thus entertain'd by the *Athenians*. But most are of the opinion which we have above deliver'd. The Ship wherein *Theseus* and the Youth of *Athens* set out and returned safe, had thirty Oars, and was preserved by the *Athenians*, down even to (2) the time of *Demetrius Phalareus*; for they took

(1) The Descendants of *Hercules* having been driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and all Greece, went in the Condition of Suppliants to beg the Relief of the *Athenians*, who receiv'd them into their Protection. This Subject is treated of by *Euripides* in his *Heraclide*. So that the Verses here mention'd by *Plutarch* may be very easily apply'd to Them. For it might signify that the Branches of Suppliants which they bore in their Hands, and with which they were crown'd, prov'd to Them a Source of Plenty, which they enjoy'd abundantly in *Athens*.

(2) That is, near 1000 Years; for *Demetrius* was Cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who clapt him in Prison, where he died of the Bite of an Aspic. Now that the *Athenians* did continue to send this Ship to *Delos* when *Ptolemy* was King, appears from a Passage in *Callimachus*, who liv'd in that Prince's Court. As for *Demetrius Phalareus*, he was a Man of great Note: He govern'd *Athens* for ten Years together, and had 360 Statues erected to his Honour in that City. He had been *Theophrastus's* Disciple.

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away the old Planks as they decay'd, putting in new and stronger Timber in their place, insomuch that this Ship became a standing Example among the Philosophers, whenever they disputed about things that encrease, one side holding, That the Ship remain'd the Same, and the other as fiercely contending, That it was not the Same.

The Feast call'd *Oscophoria*, or Feast of *Boughs*, which to this day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*. For he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which by Lot were to have been carried away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and womanish Faces, but of a manly and forward Spirit; and having by frequent Baths, and by avoiding the heat and scorching of the Sun, with a constant use of all the Ointments, and Washes, and Dresses, that serve to the adorning of the Hair, or smoothing the Skin, or improving the Complexion, in a manner chang'd them from what they were before, and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, and Carriage, and Gait of Virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceiv'd, he, undiscover'd by any, put them among the *Athenian* Maids design'd for *Crete* (1). At his return he and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession, dressed in the same habit that is now worn by those that carry the Branches. Which Branches they carry in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, for the sake of their Story before related; or rather because they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering ripe Fruits. The Women,

(1) That is, instead of seven young Men of approv'd Fidelity, he carried but five, the two and Courage, in the Disguise of Youths supplying the Place of Virgins, might have been of singular Service upon Occasion. Those that were wanting. Two

whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, (or Supper-Carriers,) are taken into these (1) Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins upon whom the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children: and because the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has still continu'd a Custom, that at this Feast old Fables and Tales should be the chief Discourse. And for all these Particularities we are beholden to the History of *Demon*. There was a Place consecrated, and a Temple erected on it to *Theseus*; who obliged those Families out of which the Tribute of the Youth (in case it had continued) was to have been paid, instead thereof to pay a Tax to the Temple for Sacrifices to him. And the House of the *Phyalidæ* had the overseeing of these Sacrifices, *Theseus* doing them that Honour in recompence of their former Hospitality.

Now after the death of his Father *Ægeus*, framing in his mind a great and wonderful design, he gather'd together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and made them one People of one Ci-

(1) This Ceremony was performed in the following manner. They made choice of a certain Number of Youths of the most noble Families in each Tribe, whose Fathers and Mothers both were living. They bore Vine Branches in their Hands with Grapes upon them, and ran from the Temple of *Bacchus* to That of *Minerva Scirada*, which was near the *Phalerean Gate*. He that arriv'd there first, drank off a Cup of Wine mingled with Honey,

Cheese, Meal, and Oyl. They were follow'd by a Chorus conducted by two young Men dressed in Women's Apparel, the Chorus singing a Song to the Praise of those young Men. Certain Women with Baskets on their Heads attended them, and were chosen for that Office from among the most wealthy of the Citizens. The whole Procession was headed by a Herald bearing a Staff encircled with Boughs, &c.

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ty, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembled upon any Affair, tho' relating to the common benefit of them All. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happened between them, as occasion'd Bloodshed and War: These by his Persuasions he appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his design of a common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean Condition readily embracing so good Advice, to Those of greater Power and Interest he promis'd a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the Power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else between them: and by this means brought Them over to his Proposal. The Rest fearing his Power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be persuaded than forc'd into a Compliance. He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-hall, where it stands to this day; and out of the old and the new City he made One, (1) which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd (2) *Panathenaea*,

(OF

(1) *Plutarch's* meaning without doubt is, that *Theseus* comprehended under the general Name of *Athens* the old Town, which was call'd *Asty*, the City, and the New one which he had composed of a Collection of all the Inhabitants drawn from the several Boroughs, and now incorporated. Long before this the Name of *Athens* had been given to the old

Town, and *Theseus* now made it common both to the Old and the New.

(2) Before *Theseus's* time, they had a Feast at *Athens* call'd *Athenaea*; but That being peculiar to the Inhabitants of *Athens*, *Theseus* now enlarged it, and made it common to all the Inhabitants of *Attica* in general; for which Reason it was call'd *Panathenaea*. There were the greater, and the lesser *Panathenaea*.

(or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians*.) He instituted also another Sacrifice call'd (1) *Metæcea**, * Transmigration, which is still celebrated on the 16th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June*.) Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Regal Power, and settled a Commonwealth, entring upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For having sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer :

Αἰγείδῃ Θησεῦ, Πιτθηϊδῷ ἔκγονε κέρως,
Πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσσι πατὴρ ἐμῷ ἔγκατέθηκε,
Τέματα κ' κλωσῆρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πολιείῳ
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτι λίλυ πεπονημῷ ἐνδοθὶ θυμὸν
Βελάειν Ἀσκὸς γὰρ ἐν οἴδματι ποίλο πορδείσῃ.

*Hear, Theseus, Pittheus' Daughter's Son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done.
In the great City, thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid*

thenæa. The first were celebrated every Fifth Year on the 23d of *Hecatombæon*, which answers to our *August*, and the lesser were kept annually on the 20th of *Thargelion*, which is our *July*. These Feasts, at first were very plain, and lasted but for a day; but in time there was an Addition of so many Games, and Ceremonies, that several days were requisite for the Performance of them. During the Celebration of the Grand Feasts they carry'd in Procession to *Minerva's* Temple the mysterious embroider'd Vest call'd *Peplum*, on Which were described the Victory of the Gods over the Giants, and the most re-

markable Actions of their greatest Worthies. I think the most observable Circumstance of all is, that no one was suffer'd to assist at those Feasts in Painted Vestments, and that Prisoners were released.

(1) *Thucydides* calls it *Sunoicaa*. The Sense of Both is the same. This Sacrifice was by no means intended for the Use of Strangers, to encourage Them to come, and live at *Athens*, but for the Inhabitants, who had already quitted their Boroughs; and held their Assemblies in the City. It was to preserve the Memory of that Transmigration.

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*The settled Periods and fixt Fates
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
Sollicit not thy self in vain.
For, like a Bladder that does 'bide
The fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always toft but never drown'd.*

Which (1) Oracle, they say, one of the Sibyls long after did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians*, in this Verse :

Ἄσχος βαλλίῃ, δύναι ὃ τοι εἰ δέμῃς ἐστὶ.

The Bladder may be dipt, but never drown'd.

Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives ; and Some are of Opinion, that the common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, *Come hither all ye People*, were the words that *Theſeus* caused to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Commonwealth, consisting, in a manner, of all Nations. Yet he suffer'd not his State, by the promiscuous Multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion, and be left without any Order or Degree ; but was the First that divided the Commonwealth into three distinct Ranks, the Noble-

(1) When *Thebes* was taken *Alcmaon* sent *Daphne* the Daughter of *Tiresias* to *Delphi*, where she prophesied and was call'd *Sibylla*, which Name was afterwards given to the Priestess of *Apollo*. When *Sylla* had got possession of *Athens*, where he exercised all Manner of Cruelties, some *Athenians*, who had saved

themselves by Flight, went to *Delphi*, and ask'd the God if the last Hour of their City was come; the Priestess answer'd τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀσχὸν ἔχοντα, *qua ad Utrem Pertinent*, *That which belongs to the Bladder*, as *Pausanias* has it; and it is very evident that it is This Oracle which *Plutarch* quotes in this Place.

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men, the Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the care of Religion, the choice of Magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Sacred matters; the whole City, in other respects, being as it were reduc'd to an exact Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And that *Theseus* was the first, who as *Aristotle* says, out of an inclination to popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, *Homer* also seems to witness in his *Catalogue of the Ships*, where he gives the Name of *People* to the *Athenians* only.

He likewise coined Money, and stamp'd it with the Image of an Ox, either in memory of the *Marathonian Bull*, or of *Minos's* General *Taurus*, (whom he vanquish'd) or else to put his People in mind to follow Husbandry; and from this Coin came the Expression so frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred Oxen. Having also made a sure acquisition of the Country about *Megara* to the Territory of *Athens*, he (1) erected that famous Pillar in the Straits of *Peloponnesus*, and made an Inscription of two verses, shewing the Bounds of the two Countries that meet there. On the East-side the Inscription is thus:

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia.
And on the West side thus:

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

(1) It was a Custom among the *Athenians* to mark their Limits by Pillars, or Columns. This was erected by the common Consent of the *Ionians* and *Peloponnesians*, to put an end to the Disputes between them about their Boundaries, and continued to the

Reign of *Codrus*, during which it was demolish'd by the *Heraclida*, who had made themselves Masters of the Territory of *Megara*, which thereby passed from the *Ionians* to the *Dorians*. *Strab.* lib. IX.

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He also first instituted annual Games, in emulation of *Hercules*; being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's appointment, celebrated the *Olympian Games* to the Honour of *Jupiter*, so by His institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian Games* to the Honour of *Neptune*. For Those that were there before observ'd, dedicated to *Melicerta*, were perform'd privately and in the Night, and consisted rather of Religious Ceremonies, than of any open Spectacle or publick Feast. But Some there are who say, that the *Isthmian Games* were first instituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theseus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearness of Kindred which was between them; *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus*, and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pittheus*: tho' others write, that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to His Honour, and not to the Others, these Games were ordain'd by *Theseus*. And *Hellanicus* and *Andron* of *Halicarnassus* write, that at the same time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they should allow Them who came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, as much space to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the publick Ship that brought them thither, stretcht to its full extent, could cover, and That in the first and most honourable Place.

Concerning the Voyage that he made in the *Euxine Sea*, there are different Relations; for *Philochorus* and some others write, that he undertook this Expedition with *Hercules*, offering him his Service in (1) the War against the *Amazons*, and had *Antiope* given

(1) There is nothing more fabulous than the History of the *Amazons*. *Strabo* has very justly remark'd that of all *Alexander's* Historians They who have had the

greatest Regard for the Truth; such as *Aristobulus*, and *Ptolemy*, have not so much as touch'd upon that Subject. We need but consider the Names of these *Amazons*,

given him for the reward of his Valour: But the greater number, (among whom are *Phercydes*, *Hellanicus* and *Herodorus*) write, that he made this Voyage many years after *Hercules*, with a Navy under his own Command, and took the *Amazon* Prisoner; and indeed This seems to come nearest the Truth, for we do not read that any other of All those who accompanied him in this Action, took any *Amazon* Prisoner. And besides, *Bion* writes, that he stole her away by deceit, and fled; for the *Amazons* (he says) being naturally Lovers of Men, were so far from flying from *Theseus* when he touch'd upon their Coasts, that they entertain'd him with great Civility, and sent him Presents to his Ship; but He having invited *Antiope*, who brought them, to come aboard, immediately set Sail and carry'd her away. One *Menecrates* also, who wrote the History of *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, adds, that *Theseus* having *Antiope* aboard his Vessel, cruised for some time about those Coasts; and that there were in the same Ship three young Noblemen of *Athens*, that accompanied him in this Voyage, all Brothers, whose Names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Soloön*. The last of These fell desperately in Love with *Antiope*, but conceal'd it with all possible care; only to one of his most intimate acquaintance he reveal'd the Secret, and employ'd him to break his Passion to *Antiope*; she rejected his pretences with a very sharp denial, yet carried her self to him with all outward appearance of Civility, and very prudently made no complaint to *Theseus* of any thing that had happen'd: but *Soloön*, urg'd by despair, leap'd into a River near the Sea-side, and drowned himself. As soon as *Theseus*

zons, to be assured that their whole Story is Fiction. *Hippolita*, *Orrera*, *Lampeto*, *Penthesilea*, *Menalippe*, and *Antiope* are all of them Greek Names, and how in the Name of Wonder shou'd the *Scythians* come by them?

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was acquainted with his Death, and his unhappy Love that was the cause of it, he was extremely concern'd, and in the height of his grief, an Oracle which he had formerly receiv'd at *Delphi* came into his mind, for he had been commanded by the Priestess of *Apollo Pythius*, that where-ever in his Travels he was most sorrowful, and under the greatest affliction, he should build a City There, and leave some of his Followers to be Governors of the Place. For this cause he There founded a City, which he call'd from the Name of *Apollo*, *Pythopolis*; and in honour of the unfortunate Youth, he nam'd the River that runs by it, *Soloan*, and left the two surviving Brothers entrusted with the care of the Government and Laws, joining with them *Hermus*, one of the Nobility of *Athens*, from whom a certain Place in the City is by the Inhabitants of *Pythopolis* call'd *The House of Hermus*; tho' (1) by an error in the accent of the word, they have falsly taken it for *the House of Hermes*, or *Mercury*, and the Honour that was design'd to the Hero, they have transferr'd to the God. And This was the rise and ground of the War with the *Amazons*, which appears to have been no slight or womanish business; for (2) it is impossible

(1) This is not to be understood but by Such as are skilled in the Greek. In that Language *Ἑρμης ὀικεία*, the Word *Ἑρμης* having an acute Accent on the first Syllable, signifies *the House of Hermus*; but *Ἑρμῃ ὀικεία*, with a Circumflex on the last, signifies *the House of Hermes*, that is *Mercury*. Thus the Variation of the Accent transfers that Honour to a God, which was intended for a Hero.

(2) Which indeed they never

did. *Plurarch* in Proof of this Expedition of the *Amazons* makes use of an Argument contrary to, and no ways conclusive for him. For it is more rational to say with *Strabo*, Is it credible that an Army, or rather a Nation of Women shou'd subsist without Men? Nay not only subsist but undertake Expeditions, and That not only into their neighbouring Kingdoms, but as far as *Ionia*, nay even into *Attica*. They who can believe This must allow that

impossible they should have plac'd their Camp in the heart of the City, and join'd Battle, close by the * *Common-Hall* and Temple of the *Muses*, unless they had first conquer'd the Country round about, and without any delay or fear mov'd on boldly to the City. That they made so long a Journey by Land, and pass'd over the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* when it was frozen, as *Hellanicus* writes, is difficult to be believ'd. That they encamp'd in the City, perhaps may be sufficiently (1) confirm'd by the Names that the Places thereabout yet retain, and the Graves and Monuments of Those that fell in the Battle. Both Armies now being in sight, there was a long pause and doubt on each side which should give the first Onset: (2) At last *Theseus* having sacrific'd to *Fear*, in obedience to the Command of an Oracle he had receiv'd, gave them Battle; and this Battle happened in the Month *Boëdromion* (i. e. *August*) the day on which the *Athenians* even to this time keep the Feast called *Boëdromia*. But *Clidemus*, desirous to be very nice in each particular of this Affair, writes, that the left Wing of the *Amazons* mov'd towards the Place which is yet call'd *Amazonium*, and that on

that in those days the Women were changed into Men, and the Men metamorphos'd into Women. However the *Athenians* were so mightily taken with this Fable that they employ'd *Micon* to paint this Battle of *Theseus* and the *Amazons* in the Porch call'd *Poicleum*.

(1) As if there had been no other way to come by those Names but by the *Amazons*.

(2) The Heathens deify'd all the Passions, and sacrific'd to them to avert the ill effects they dreaded from them. Nay farther they

sacrific'd to every Thing they thought might be hurtful, for Instance to the Fever, to the Winds and Rivers. *Theseus* sacrific'd to *Fear*, to the end his Troops might not be seized with it. *Alexander* perform'd the same Sacrifice before the Battle of *Arbela*, as will be seen in his Life; and the Reader will find in the Notes upon that Place a more substantial Reason for it; that the Sacrifice was directed to *Fear* not as to a noxious, but friendly Deity, whose influence is salutary and beneficent.

* ανύξ.

* ηςῶον

the right they came as far as the **Common-Hall* near *Chrysa*: that with This the *Athenians* engaged, falling in upon the *Amazons* from the *Muses Temple*; and that the Graves of Those that were slain, are to be seen in the Street that leads to the Gate call'd *Piraica*, by the * Chappel of *Chalcodon*: And that Here it was that the *Athenians* were routed, and shamefully turn'd their backs to Women as far as to the Temple of the *Furies*: But that fresh supplies coming in from *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lyceum*, they charg'd their right Wing, and beat them back into their very Tents; in which Action a great number of the *Amazons* were slain: That at length, after four Months, a Peace was concluded between them by the mediation of *Hippolyta*, (for so this Historian calls the *Amazon* which *Theseus* marry'd, and not *Antiope*) tho' others write that she was slain with a Dart by *Molpadia*, fighting by *Theseus's* side, and that the Pillar which stands by the Temple (1) of the *Olympian Earth* was erected to her Honour. Nor is it to be wonder'd that the History of things so very ancient, should be so various and uncertain. For it is farther said, that Those of the *Amazons* that were wounded, were privately sent away by *Antiope* to *Chalcis*, where many by her care recover'd, but Those that dy'd were bury'd in the Place that is to this time call'd *Amazonium*. That this War was ended by a mutual League and Agreement, is evident both

(1) This wants a little Explanation. This Temple of the *Olympian Earth* is the same with the Temple of the Moon. *Plutarch* tells us so himself, for in his Trearise of the Oracles that have failed, he saith that the Moon perfectly represents the Nature of *Demons*. because of her Increase and Decrease, and that for that Reason she was call'd by some the

Terrestrial Star, by Others the *Olympian*, that is the *heavenly Earth*; but *Plutarch's* Reason for the giving her this Name seems insufficient. Why may we not affirm in one Word that the *Athenians* call'd her so because they believ'd her to be in Truth a solid Body like our *Earth*, and at the same time that she was in the Heavens?

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from the Name of the Place adjoining to the Temple of *Theseus*, call'd from the solemn Oath there taken, *Horcomosium*, and also from the antient Sacrifice which is celebrated to the *Amazons*, the day before the Feast of *Theseus*. The People of *Megara* pretend also to shew among them a place where the *Amazons* were buried in the figure of a Lozenge, in the passage from the Market-place to a Place call'd *Rhus*. It is said likewise, that Others of 'em were slain about *Cheronea*, and buried near a little Rivulet, formerly call'd *Thermodon*, but now *Hemon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the Life of *Demosthenes*. It appears further that the Passage of the *Amazons* thro' *Thessaly* was not without opposition, for there are yet to be seen many of their Sepulchres near *Scotussea* and *Cynos-Cephale*. And This is as much as is worthy the Relation, concerning the *Amazons*. For the account which the antient Author of a Poem call'd *Theseis*, gives us, of this Invasion of the *Amazons*, how that *Antiope*, to revenge her self upon *Theseus*, for quitting her and marrying *Phædra*, came down upon the City with her Train of *Amazons*, and that they were slain by *Hercules*, is manifestly nothing else but Fable, and the Invention of a Poet. It is true indeed that *Theseus* married *Phædra*, but That was after the death of *Antiope*, by whom he had a Son called *Hippolytus*, or, as *Pindar* writes, (1) *Demophoon*. As to the Calamities which beset both this Wife (*Phædra*) and his Son *Hippolytus*, since none of the Historians have contradicted the Tragick Poets that have written of them, we are to take them for good, as all the Poets have deliver'd them. There are also other Reports concerning the Mar-

(1) *Pindar* is mistaken. *Demo-* | *Phædra*, and *Hippolytus* his Son by
phoon was the Son of *Theseus* by | the *Amazon*.

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riages of *Theseus*, the beginnings of which were neither honourable, nor their events fortunate, which yet were never represented in the Grecian Plays. For he is said to have forc'd *Anaxo*, the *Troezenian*; and after he had slain *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, to have ravish'd their Daughters; to have married *Peribaea* the Mother of *Ajax*, and then *Phaeribaea*, and then *Iope* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. Further he is accus'd for deserting *Ariadne*, (as is before related) being in Love with *Egle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, an action neither just nor honourable. And lastly for the Rape of *Helen*, which fill'd all *Attica* with War and Blood, and was in the end the occasion of his Banishment and Death, as shall hereafter be related.

Herodorus is of opinion, that tho' there were many famous Expeditions undertaken by the bravest and most honourable Captains of his Time, yet *Theseus* never made One amongst them, Once only excepted, when he join'd with the *Lapithae* in their War against the *Centaurs*: Though others say that he accompany'd *Jason* to *Colchos*, and *Meleager* to the slaying of the *Calydonian Boar*; and that hence this came to be a proverbial Speech, *Not without Theseus*. However 'tis allowed that *Theseus* without any aid of the Heroes of his Time, did Himself perform very many and very great Exploits; and that from the high esteem the World set upon his Valour, it grew into a Proverb, *This is another Hercules*. He was also very instrumental to *Adrastus*, in recovering the Bodies of those that were slain before *Thebes*, but not as (1) *Euri-*

(1) And yet *Isocrates*, who was Cotemporary with *Euripides*, tho' much younger than him, saith the same Thing. It is true that in another Place he saith that *Theseus* sent his Ambassadors to *Eteocles*; but *Lyfias*, who lived at the same time, reconciles this Difference, and saith that *Theseus* indeed at first sent his Ambassadors, but obtaining nothing that way he extorted That by Force, which they wou'd not grant to him by fair means.

pides in his Tragedy makes him, by beating the *Thebans* in Battel, but by persuation, and mutual agreement and composition, for so the greater part of Historians write : nay, *Philochorus* adds farther, that This was the first Treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the dead ; tho' the History of *Hercules* says, that He was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off the Bodies of their Slain. The burying-places of the Common Soldiers are yet to be seen in the Village call'd *Eleuthera*, and Those of the Commanders at *Eleufis*, where *Theseus* allotted them a place for their Interment, to oblige *Adrastus*. And that the dead Bodies were thus recover'd, *Æschylus* is Witness in his Tragedy call'd the *Eleusinians*, where *Theseus* himself is brought in relating the Story as it is here told ; which quite overthrows what *Euripides* writes on this Subject, in his Play call'd *The Suppliants*.

The extraordinary and so much celebrated Friendship between *Theseus* and *Peirithous*, is said to have been thus begun. The Fame of the matchless Strength and Valour of *Theseus* being spread thro' all Greece, *Peirithous* was inflam'd with a desire to be satisfy'd, and make a tryal himself of what he had heard so much by Report ; to this end he seized a Herd of Oxen which belong'd to *Theseus*, and was driving them away from *Marathon*, when News was brought that *Theseus* pursu'd him in Arms : upon which, disdainig to fly, he turn'd back, and went on to meet him. But as soon as ever they had view'd one another, Each so admir'd the Gracefulness and Beauty, and was seiz'd with such a Reverence for the Bravery and Courage of the Other, that they forgot all thoughts of Fighting ; and *Peirithous* first stretching out his hand to *Theseus*, bad him be Judge in this Case himself, and promis'd to submit willingly to what-

ever he demanded, in satisfaction for the injury he had done. But *Theseus* not only forgave him all the damages he had sustain'd, but entreated him to be his Friend and Brother in Arms; and there immediately they swore an inviolable Friendship to each other. After This *Peirithous* married *Deidamia*, and invited *Theseus* to the Wedding, entreating him to come, and see his Country, and (1) keep Company with the *Lapithæ*. He had at the same time invited the *Centaurs* to the Feast, who growing hot with Wine, began to be very insolent and lewd, and offer'd violence to the Women; which so enrag'd the *Lapithæ*, that they took immediate revenge upon the Place, slaying Many of them upon the Spot: and afterwards having overcome them in Battel, drove the whole Race of them out of their Country, *Theseus* all along taking their part, and fighting on their side. But *Herodorus* gives a different Relation of these things: That *Theseus* came not to the assistance of the *Lapithæ* till the War was already begun; and that it was in This Journey that he had the first fight of *Hercules*, having made it his business to find him out at *Trachine*, where he had chosen to rest himself after all his wandrings and labours; and that This Interview was honourably perform'd on each part with extream Civility, Respect and Admiration of each other. Yet it is more credible what other Historians write, that there were before frequent Interviews between them, and that it was by the means of *Theseus* that (2) *Hercules* was initiated and admitted to the Ceremonies

(1) The *Lapithæ* were Men of great Valour in *Thessaly*, and are call'd *Heroes* by *Homer*, so that *Peirithous* might very well invite *Theseus* to come, and spend some time with them.

(2) Before any Person was initiated in those grand Mysteries of the *Eleusinian Ceres* he was first to be purifyed in publick; and this Purification was perform'd in the lesser Mysteries, which were celebrated in a Place call'd *Agræ* near the River *Ilissus*. There

remonies of the Goddess *Ceres*, having before his initiation been first purify'd, as one that wanted it upon account of several rash Actions of his former Life.

Theseus was now fifty years old, as *Hellanicus* reports, when he fell upon the adventure of stealing *Helen*, who was very young, and not of Age to be married. Wherefore some Writers, to take away this Accusation of one of the greatest Crimes that is laid to his charge, say, that he did not steal away *Helen* Himself, but that *Idas* and *Lynceus* were the Ravishers, who brought her to him, and committed her to his Charge, and that therefore he refus'd to restore her at the demand of *Castor* and *Pollux*; or according to Others, that he receiv'd her from her own Father *Tyndarus*, who sent her to be kept by him, for fear of *Enarphorus* the Son of *Hippocoon*, who would have carry'd her away by force when she was yet a Child. But

There they sacrificed to *Jupiter* a Sow big with young; they stretch'd the Skin on the Ground, and caus'd the Person that was to be purified to kneel upon it, and wash'd him with Sea Water, in which they had mingled Salt, Laurel, and Barly; after This they made him pass through the Fire, and crown'd him with a Chaplet of Flowers. He was to prepare himself for this Ceremony by Fasting; and a Vow of the strictest Chastity, which he was to observe as long as he lived. After This it was at least a Year before he cou'd be admitted to the grand Mysteries, where he had read to him the Ritual of the Ceremonies to be observ'd on that Occasion; and nothing was conceal'd from him but a few certain Things, which the Priests

only had a Liberty of seeing. After his Admission he never left off the Habit he wore the day of his Initiation till it was worn to Rags; then he consecrated it to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, or kept it to make Baby Cloaths. This Initiation was an Engagement to a Life thoroughly religious, and They who had been thus initiated verily believ'd that *Ceres* and *Proserpine* had a particular Care of them, and were their immediate Directors; that they shou'd be happy as long as they lived, and that when they came to dye they shou'd have the most eminent Places in the Realms below. If any one has a Mind to know more of this Matter let him read *Meursius*, who has written a Treatise upon this Subject.

the

The LIFE of

the most probable Relation, and That which has most Witnesses on its side, is This: *Theseus* and *Peirithous* went both together to *Sparta*, and having seiz'd the young Lady, as she was dancing in the Temple of *Diana* (1) *Orthia*, fled away with her. There were presently Men in Arms sent to pursue the Ravishers, but they followed the pursuit no farther than to *Tegea*; and *Theseus* and *Peirithous* being now out of danger, having escap'd out of *Peloponnesus*, made an agreement between themselves, that He to whom the lot shou'd fall, should have *Helen* to his Wife, but should be oblig'd to be ready with his assistance to procure Another for his Friend. Upon this Compact the lot fell unto *Theseus*, who took the young Lady, not being yet marriageable, and convey'd her to *Abidne*; and placing his own Mother (*Æthra*) with her, committed them to *Abidnus* one of his Friends; charging him to keep them so secretly, that none might know where they were. Which done, to return the same service to his Friend *Peirithous*, he accompany'd him in his Journey to *Epirus*, in order to (2) steal away the Daughter of *Aidoneus* (i. e. *Pluto*) King of the *Molossians*:

(1) Some will have it that *Diana* was so called from a certain Place of that Name in *Arcadia*, where she had a Temple. I rather think that by the Appellation *Orthia* is meant *severe*, for whatever is harsh, uncouth and difficult is by the *Greeks* call'd *Orthion*. It is well known that it was a Custom among the *Lacedæmonians* to have their Children cruelly whipt before the Altar of this Goddess, so that they might well give her that Name.

(2) Such an Undertaking as This does by no means become the Dignity of Heroes, for which Reason *Plato* in the Third Book of his Republick opposeth this Tradition most vehemently. He saith all imaginable Care ought to be taken to preserve his Citizens from the possibility of believing, or so much as mentioning, that *Theseus* and *Peirithous*, the Sons of the Gods, cou'd be capable of so flagrant an Injustice, for, saith he, it is impossible for Such to degenerate.

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THESEUS.

III

This King named his Wife (1) *Proserpina*, and his Daughter *Corè*, and a great Dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with Whom he order'd all that came as Suitors to his Daughter to fight, and promis'd her to Him that should overcome the Beast. But having been inform'd, that the design of *Peirithous* and his Companion's coming was not to court his Daughter, but to force her away, he caused them Both to be seized, and threw *Peirithous* to be torn in pieces by his Dog, and clapt up *Theseus* into Prison, and kept him in Chains.

About this time, *Menestheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, Grandson of *Orneus*, and great Grandson to *Erectheus*, the first Man that is recorded to have affected Popularity, and ingratiated himself with the Multitude, stir'd up and exasperated the most eminent Men of the City, who had long born a secret grudge to *Theseus*, as being possess'd with a belief that *Theseus* had taken from each of the Nobility their several little Kingdoms and Lordships, that so having pent them all up in one City, he might use them as his Subjects and Slaves. He put also the meaner sort into no small commotion, by accusing them sharply, that being deluded with a mere dream of Liberty, tho' indeed they were depriv'd both of That, and of their Countries and their Temples, instead of many good and gracious Kings of their own, they had given themselves up to be lorded over by a New-comer and a Stranger. Whilst he was thus busied in infecting the minds of the Citizens, the War that *Castor* and *Pollux* brought against *Athens* came very opportunely to further the Sedition he had been promoting; and Some say that He by his per-

(1) *Plutarch* here differs from most Authors, who generally make *Proserpina* and *Corè* (χόρη) the same Person, Daughter of *Pluto*; and his Wife, or the Mother of *Proserpina*, they call *Ceres*, or

Δημήτηρ. I have read somewhere that the eldest Daughters of the Kings of *Epire* were called *Corè*, as the Daughters of *Spain* and *Portugal* are call'd *Infants*.

suasions

The LIFE of

suasions was wholly the cause of their invading the City. At their first approach they committed no Acts of Hostility, but peaceably demanded their Sister *Helen*; but the *Athenians* returning answer, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where she was dispos'd of, they prepar'd to assault the City. But *Academos* (by what means he came to the knowledge of it, is uncertain) discover'd to them that she was secretly kept at *Aphidnae*: For which Reason he was both extreamly honour'd during his Life by the Sons of *Tyndarus*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in after-times they made several Incurfions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Country round about, spar'd the *Academy* for his sake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the First, That which is now call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Village *Marathon* had its Name from the Other, who according to the Oracle willingly offer'd up himself a Sacrifice at the head of the Army. As soon as they were arriv'd at *Aphidnae*, they first overcame their Enemies in a set Battle, and then assaulted and took the Town. And here, they say, *Alycus*, the Son of *Sciron*, was slain on the party of *Castor* and *Pollux*, from whom a Place in *Megara*, where he was bury'd, is call'd *Alycus* to this day. And *Hereas* writes, that it was *Theseus* himself that kill'd him, in witness of which he cites these Verses concerning *Alycus*.

Τὸν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφιδνῇ
Μαρνάμην Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἐνεκ ἠυκόμοιο
Κτεῖνεν.

*And Alycus on fair Aphidna's Plain,
By Theseus in the Cause of Helen slain.*

Tho'

Tho' it is not at all probable, that *Theseus* himself was there when both the City and his own Mother were taken. *Aphidne* being now taken, and the whole City of *Athens* in great Consternation, *Menestheus* persuaded the People to open their Gates, and receive *Castor* and *Pollux* with all manner of Civility and Friendship, who, he told them, design'd no Violence or Injury to any but *Theseus*, who had first done them wrong, but were Benefactors and Saviours to all Mankind beside. And their behaviour to the conquer'd gave credit to what *Menestheus* promis'd; for having made themselves absolute Masters of the Place, they demand'd no more than to be initiated in the Ceremonies of the Goddess *Ceres*, since they were as nearly related to their City as *Hercules* was, who had receiv'd the same Honour. This their desire they easily obtain'd, and were adopted by *Aphidnus*, as *Hercules* had been by *Pylius*. They were honour'd also like Gods, and call'd by a new Name, *Anaces*, either from the * Cessation of the War, or from the singular care they took that none should suffer any injury, tho' there was so great an Army within the Walls of the City; for the Phrase (*Ἀνακῶς ἔχειν*) signifies keeping and taking care of any thing, from whence it is likely that Kings were call'd *Anactes*. Others say, that from the appearance of their Star in the Heavens, they were thus call'd, for in the *Attick* Dialect this Name comes very near the words * that signify *Above*.

* In Greek
Ἀνοχῆ,

* ἀνέκας,
and ἀνέκ
καθ' ἑν.

Some say that *Æthra*, *Theseus* his Mother, was here taken Prisoner, and carried to *Lacedæmonia*, and from thence went away with *Helen* to *Troy*, alledging this Verse of *Homer* to prove that she waited upon *Helen*.

Ἀῖθρα Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

Æthra of Pittheus born; and Clymene the fair

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I

Others

The L I F E of

Others reject this Verse as none of *Homer's*, as they do likewise the whole Fable of *Munychus*, who, the Story says, was the Son of *Laodice* which she bore privately to *Demophoon*, and was brought up likewise by *Æthra* at *Troy*. But *Isbrus*, in the 13th Book of his *Attic History*, gives us an account of *Æthra*, different yet from all the rest: That after the Fight, wherein *Achilles* and *Patroclus* overcame *Alexander* (who is also called *Paris*) in *Thessaly*, near the River *Sperchius*, *Hector* sack'd and plunder'd the City of the *Træzenians*, and took away *Æthra* Prisoner, who had been left there. But this seems to be an absurd and groundless Tale.

Now it happen'd that *Hercules* passing once by the Country of the *Molossians*, was entertain'd in his way by *Aidoneus* the King, who in Discourse accidentally fell upon a Relation of the Journey of *Theseus* and *Peirithous* into his Dominions, and what they had design'd to do, and what they were forc'd to suffer when they were taken. *Hercules* was extreamly concern'd for the inglorious Death of the One, and the miserable Condition of the Other. As for *Peirithous*, he thought it but in vain to expostulate with the King concerning his Death. But *Theseus* being yet kept in Prison, he beg'd to have him releas'd for his sake, and obtain'd that favour from the King. *Theseus* being thus set at liberty return'd to *Athens*, where his Friends were not yet wholly suppress'd; and all those sacred places which the City had design'd for himself he dedicated to *Hercules*, changing their Names from *Thesea* to *Heraclea*, four only excepted, as *Philochorus* writes. And now designing to preside in the Commonwealth, and manage the State as before, he soon found himself fall'n in a Nest of Faction and Sedition; for he discover'd that Those who of a long time had hated him, had now added

added to their hatred of his Person a contempt of his Authority; and saw the minds of the People so generally corrupted, that, instead of obeying with silence and submission whatever was commanded, they expected to be flatter'd and sooth'd into their Duty: having therefore some thoughts to reduce them by force; he was, by the prevalence of the Faction, and continual Disorders, deter'd from the Attempt: And at last despairing of any good success of his Affairs in *Athens*, he sent away his Children privately into *Eubœa*, commending them to the care of *Elephenor* the Son of *Chalcondon*; and (1) he himself having solemnly curs'd the People of *Athens*, in the Ward of *Gargettus*, in which there yet remains the Place call'd *Aracterion*, (or the Place of *Cursing*) sail'd to *Scyrus*, where he had Lands left him by his Father, and, as he persuaded himself, a great Friendship with all those of the Island. *Lycomedes* was then King of *Scyrus*: *Theseus* therefore address'd himself to Him, and desir'd to have his Lands put into his possession, as designing to settle and dwell there; tho' Others say, that he came to beg his assistance against the *Athenians*. But *Lycomedes*, being (2) either jealous of the Glory of so great a Man, or to gratify *Menestheus*, having led him up to the highest Cliff of the Island, on pretence of showing him from thence the Lands that he desir'd, threw him headlong down from the Rock, and kill'd him. But Others say, he fell down of himself by an unfortunate slip of his Foot, as he was walking there after Supper according to his usual Custom. At that time there was no notice taken,

(1) The *Pagans* believ'd that nothing cou'd prevent the ill Effects of a Curse, which was not to be expiated by any Victims whatever.

(2) There are some who say that *Lycomedes* had discovered *Theseus* was forming Cabals against him, and that he endeavour'd to debauch his Wife.

nor were any concern'd for his Death; but *Meneſtheus* quietly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom of *Athens*. His Sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompany'd *Elephenor* to the *Trojan War*; but after the deceaſe of *Meneſtheus*, who dy'd in the ſame Expedition, They return'd to *Athens*, and recover'd the Government to Themſelves. But in ſucceeding Ages there were ſeveral remarkable Accidents that mov'd the *Athenians* to honour *Theſeus* as a demy-God: and among the reſt, in the Battel which was fought at *Marathon* many of the Soldiers fancy'd they ſaw an Apparition of *Theſeus* all in Arms fighting in the head of them, and ruſhing on upon the *Barbarians*. And after the concluſion of the *Median Wars*, the Year wherein *Phedon* was Archon (1) or Chief Magiſtrate of *Athens*, the *Athenians* conſulting the

(1) After the Death of *Codrus* the 17th King of *Athens*, who gave up his Life for the Good of his Country in the days of *Saul*, in the Year of the World 2880, 1068 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, the *Athenians* thought no Perſon under the Sun worthy to ſucceed ſo great a Man, and therefore inſtead of a King they choſe from out of the Royal Family a perpetual Archon. *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the firſt that exercis'd that Office, and gave his Name to the ſucceeding Archons, who were all of the ſame Family, and from Him were call'd *Medontida*. This Officer was veſted with Sovereign Authority, only he was accountable to the People for his Adminiſtration. There were 13 of thoſe Archons during the ſpace of 325 Years. After the Death of *Alcmaon*, who was the laſt of the perpetual Archons, this

Charge was not continued to the ſame Perſon for any longer than Ten Years, always however in the ſame Family 'till the Death of *Eryxias*, or as Others of *Tleſias*, the Seventh and laſt of thoſe decennial Magiſtrates. For when the Family of *Codrus*, or the *Medontida*, came to fail in Him, the *Athenians* created annual Archons. and inſtead of One they choſe Nine every Year. The firſt of Theſe was call'd Archon by way of Excellence. and the Year was denominated from Him; the Second was called King, the Third *Polemarch*, and the Six Others *Theſmotheta*. This Alteration was made the Third Year of the 24th *Olympiad*, in the Year of the World 3278, and continued down to the Reign of the Emperor *Gallienus*, that is to the Year of the World 4210, 260 Years after the Birth of Chriſt.

Oracle

Oracle at (1) *Delphi*, were commanded to gather together the Bones of *Theseus*, and laying 'em in some honourable Place, keep them as sacred in the City. But it was very difficult to recover these

(1) At first I gave into *Meursius* his Opinion, who fancies that the Oracle, of which *Plutarch* speaks in this Place, was deliver'd soon after the Battle of *Marathon*, which happen'd in the First Year of the 72d Olympiad, that is 490 Years before the Birth of our Saviour; and that *Theseus* his Bones were carry'd back to *Athens* the Fourth Year of the 74th Olympiad: But several Years after whilst I was working upon the Life of *Cimon*, I had Occasion to consider this passage more narrowly, and found that *Meursius* was in an Error, of which there needs no other Proof than a thorough consideration of the self-same Passage. *Plutarch* has no sooner mention'd the Battle of *Marathon*, but he immediately subjoins, and after the Conclusion of the Median Wars, which is a manifest Token that he distinguishes between those two Periods; and in reality the Battle of *Marathon*, and the Conclusion of the Median Wars, are two Terms very different. This is a Truth of which I am still more strongly convinced, when I compare this Passage with what *Plutarch* writes in the Life of *Cimon*, and with what *Thucydides* tells us in his first Book. They Both agree that *Cimon* did not pass into *Scyrus* till after the Reduction of *Eione* in *Thrace*. This *Thucydides* tells us in the exprefs Terms following. In the first place, saith he, the Athenians under the Con-

duct of *Cimon* took and pillaged the City of *Eione*, situated on the *Strymon*, of which the Medes had got the Possession, after which they made themselves Masters of the Isle of *Scyrus*, and establish'd themselves there. *Plutarch* saith the very same Thing in the Life of *Cimon*, for he does not place the Conquest of *Scyrus* till after That of *Eione*. Now the Expedition against *Eione* was undertaken in the last Year of the 76th Olympiad, or in the First of the 77th. The Action at *Plataea* happen'd in the First Year of the 76th Olympiad, the Event of which was consider'd as a finishing stroke to the Median Wars in Greece, out of which they were thereby driven. *Phadon* was Archon the First Year of the 76th Olympiad, then therefore it was that the Athenians receiv'd this Oracle, and of this Year we are to understand the Words of *Plutarch*, after the Conclusion of the Median Wars, the Year wherein *Phadon* was Archon. From whence it must necessarily follow that the Bones of *Theseus* cou'd not be brought back to *Athens* the Fourth Year of the 74th Olympiad, as *Meursius* imagined, since there were Three compleat Years between That, and the End of the Median Wars, and the Archonship of *Phadon*; and that they were not remov'd till after the Conquest of *Scyrus*, which follow'd That of *Eione*, and was about the First Year of the 77th Olympiad.

Reliques, or so much as to find out the Place where they lay, by reason of the inhospitable and savage temper of the barbarous People that inhabited the Island. But afterwards when *Cimon* took the Island, (as is related in his Life) and had a great desire to find out the Place where *Theseus* was buried, he by chance spy'd an Eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her Beak, and tearing up the Earth with her Talons; when on the sudden it came into his mind, as it were by some divine Inspiration, to dig there, and search for the Bones of *Theseus*. There was found in that place a Coffin of a Man of more than ordinary size, and the brass Head of a Lance, and a Sword lying by it, all which he took aboard his Gally, and brought with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* being greatly transported at This, went out to meet and receive the Reliques of this great Man in a splendid and pompous Procession, and did sacrifice to them, as if *Theseus* himself was return'd alive to their City. He lies interr'd in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform their Wrestlings and other Exercises of Body: And his (1) Tomb is a Sanctuary and Refuge for Slaves, and all Those of mean condition, that fly from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he lived, was an Assister and Protector of the Distress'd, and never refus'd the Petitions of the Afflicted, that fled to him for Succour and Defence. The chief and most

(1) The Greek imports, a Refuge for Servants, Domesticks, *Φύλιον δικέταις*. The Word Slave includes Servants as well as Slaves. That which is most remarkable in this Place is that this *Asylum*, this Place of Refuge, remain'd even in the Days of *Plutarch*. And how much was it to the Glory of *Theseus*, that his Tomb shou'd for more than 1200 Years after his Death continue the same good Office, which he himself perform'd whilst he was living, that is, be a Protector of the Oppressed.

solemn (1) Sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the 8th day of *Pyaneption* (i. e. *October*) on which day he return'd with the *Athenian* young Men from *Crete*. Besides which they sacrifice to him on the 8th day of every Month, either because he return'd from *Træzene* the 8th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June*) as *Diodorus* the Geographer writes, or else thinking that number of all others to be most proper to him, because he was reputed to be the Son of *Neptune*; for they sacrifice to *Neptune* on the 8th day of every Month; for the Number Eight being the first Cube of an even Number, and the double of the first Square, seemed to be an Emblem of the stedfast and immovable Power of this God, who has the Names of *Asphalius* and *Gæiochus*, (that is, *the Establisher, and Stayer of the Earth.*)

(1) There was one particularity in this Sacrifice which re-
dounds to the Honour of the A-
thenians, which is that at that time they made an Entertainment for all the Poor.





THE
L I F E
O F
R O M U L U S,

BY whom, and for what reason, the City of *Rome*, a Name so great in Glory, and famous in the mouths of all men, was so first call'd, Authors do not agree⁽¹⁾. Some are of opinion that the *Pelasgians*,

(1) Strange Fate of a City, Countries, and of different Languages, and who instead of leaving Histories and Annals behind them, thought of nothing but pillaging their Neighbours. There is another Reason to be assign'd for this Uncertainty, and that is, that the *Gracians* in those days did not concern themselves with the Transactions in *Italy*. Besides, there were at that time no Authors among the *Gracians* but in their



Vol. 1. p. 120.

Lud. Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.



Pelasgians(1), after they had over-run the greater part of the habitable World, and subdued most Nations, fix'd themselves here, and from their own great strength in War [which is the signification of the word in *Greek*] call'd the City by the name of *Rome*. Others, that after the taking of *Troy*, (2) some few that escap'd the Enemy, fortunately meeting with Shipping, put to Sea, and being driven upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*, came to an Anchor off the Mouth of the River *Tyber*, where, their Women being miserably tir'd and haras'd by the toilsomness of the Voyage, it was propos'd by one whose Name was *Roma*, a Person of the best Quality, and seemingly of the best Understanding too amongst 'em, to burn the Ships: Which being done, the Men at first were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of ne-

their *Asiatick* Colonies, and those Authors were Poets, not Historians. No Writers of History appear'd among them till a great while after; and as they had been a long time accustomed to Fables, they preserved those Fables even in their Histories.

(1) The *Pelasgians* were originally of *Arcadia*, but being expelled from thence they passed into *Thessaly*, from whence they drove out the ancient Inhabitants. Five Generations after they themselves were driven out of *Thessaly* by the *Curetes*, and *Lelaga*, that is, by the *Ætoli*ans, and *Locri*ans, and were disperst into *Epire*, *Macedonia*, *Italy*, *Eubœa*, *Crete*, and *Asia*.

(2) *Plutarch* has taken This out of *Heraclides* surnamed *Lembus*, who lived at the same time with *Polybius*. This Historian

writes that *Æneas* embark'd on board some of *Ulysses's* Ships, and landed in *Italy*, where he built a City, and call'd it *Rome*, which was the Name of a *Trojan* Matron, who instigated her Companions to set Fire to the Ships, that so they might not be obliged to any more Sea-Voyages. It would be an endless Piece of Work to examine into all the Fables that have been collected relating to the Origine of *Rome*, and of *Romulus*. It may be sufficient to observe that all powerful States have had much the same Fortune. The Accounts of their Birth are through length of time become rather fabulous than historical: The Reason of which may be, that Men are naturally prone to add to the Truth, thereby to make it look more marvellous, and consequently more agreeable.

cessity,

cessity, seating themselves near *Pallatium*, where things in a short while succeeded far better than they could hope, in that they found the Country very good(1), and the People courteous(2), they not only did the Lady *Roma* all other great Honours, but they added This also, of calling the City they had built after her Name(3). From This, they say, came that Custom at *Rome* for Women to salute their Kinsmen and Husbands with Kisses, because those Women, after they had burnt the Ships, did make use of such like Allurements to pacify their Husbands, and allay the displeasure they had conceiv'd. Some say, that *Roma*, from whom this City was so call'd, was Daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; Others, the Daughter of *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, who was married to *Æneas*; Others again, that she was the Daughter of *Ascanius*, *Æneas's* Son. But then Some say, *Romanus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, built it; Some, that *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*(4), whom *Diomedes* sent from *Troy*; and Others, that it was founded by *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, that drove out the *Tuscans*, who came originally from *Thessaly* into *Lydia*, from thence into those parts of *Italy*. Nay, those very Authors, who by the clearest Reasons make it appear, that *Romulus* gave Name to

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* tells us in express Terms, that *Italy* is the best Country not only in *Europe*, but in the whole World; to prove which, he makes it appear that it produceth in a greater abundance than any other Country whatever, every thing that is necessary for Health, Wealth, or Pleasure.

(2) They had at first been very fierce, and cruel, offering humane Sacrifices to *Saturn*; but *Hercules* caus'd them to abolish that barbarous Custom, and to offer Vic-

tims that were more acceptable to their Deities.

(3) *Antiochus Syracusanus*, a very ancient Author, who lived an hundred Years before *Aristotle*, has written that even a long time before the *Trojan Wars* there was a City in *Italy* call'd *Roma*.

(4) *Dionysius of Chalcis*, who wrote five Books concerning the Original of Cities, said that this *Romus* was held by Some to have been the Son of *Ascanius*, and by Others the Son of *Emathion*.

that

that City, do yet strangely differ concerning his Birth and Family: For some write, he was the Son of *Aeneas* and *Dexithea*, Daughter of *Phorbas*, who, with his Brother *Remus*, in their Infancy, was carryed into *Italy*, and being on the River when the Waters were very rough, all the Ships were cast away except only That where the Children were; which being safely landed on a level Bank of a River, they were both unexpectedly sav'd, and from them the Place was call'd *Rome*. Some say, *Roma*, Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady who was married to *Latinus*, *Telemachus's* Son, was Mother to *Romulus*; Others, that *Æmilia*, Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, had him by the God *Mars*; and Others give you little less than mere Fables of his Original: As for Instance, that to *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, who was a most wicked and cruel Man, there appear'd in his own House a strange Vision (1), which was the Figure of a Man's Yard, that rose out of a Chimney-hearth, and staid there for many days: That there was an Oracle of *Tethys* (2) in *Tuscany*, from which, upon being consulted, answer was brought to *Tarchetius*, that some young Virgin should accept of the Embraces of the Apparition, and she should have a Son famous in his Generation, eminent for Valour, good Fortune, and strength of Body. *Tarchetius* told the Prophecy to one of his own Daughters, and commanded her to entertain the Lover; but she flighting the matter, put her Woman on the

(1) The same Story is told of *Oerisia*, and that *Servius Tullius* was the Fruit of that Apparition. Such sort of Visions were very frequent in those times of Ignorance and Simplicity.

(2) I never met elsewhere with any Oracles of *Tethys*, which makes me think that this Passage has been

corrupted, or that *Plutarch* himself was mistaken in the Name. The Oracle meant in this place was *Themis* and not *Tethys*. She was the same with Her whom the Romans call'd *Carmenta*, by reason of the Oracles she deliver'd, and was the Mother of *Evander*.

execution

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execution of it. *Tarchetius* hearing This, in great indignation imprison'd the Offenders, purposing to put 'em Both to death; but being deter'd from Murder by the Goddess *Vesta* in a Dream, enjoin'd them for their punishment the working a Piece of Cloth, in their Chains, as they were; which when they finish'd, they should be suffer'd to marry; but what-ever they work'd by day, *Tarchetius* commanded Others to unravel in the Night. In the mean time the Waiting-woman was deliver'd of two Boys, whom *Tarchetius* gave into the hands of one *Teratius*, with strict Command to destroy 'em; but he took and expos'd 'em by a River side, where a Wolf constantly came and suckled 'em, and the Birds of all sorts brought little morsels of Food, which they put into their Mouths; till a Neat-herd spying 'em, was first strangely surpriz'd, but venturing to draw nearer, took the Children up in his Arms. This was the manner of their preservation, and thus they grew up 'till they set upon *Tarchetius*, and overcame him. These particulars *Promathion* tells us, who compiled the History of *Italy*. But the principal parts of that Account which obtains most Credit, and has the most Vouchers, was first published among the Greeks by *Diocles* of *Peparethos*, whom *Fabius Pictor* has for the most part followed: Not but that there are some other different Relations of the matter. However this Account, in short, is as follows. The Kings of *Alba* descending lineally from *Aeneas*, the Succession devolv'd at length upon two Brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. *Amulius*, to divide things into two equal shares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treasury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* chose the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Money, and being able to do more with That than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of ease took his Kingdom from him,

him, and withal fearing lest his Daughter might have Children, made her a Vestal Nun, in that condition for ever to live a single and Maiden Life. This Lady Some call'd *Ilia*, Others *Rhea*, and Others *Sylvia*; however not long after she was, contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Vestals, discover'd to be with Child, and should have suffer'd the most cruel Punishment, had not *Antio*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her: nevertheless she was confin'd, and debar'd all human Conversation, that she might not be deliver'd without *Amulius's* knowledge. In time she brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigness and beauty of their Bodies: Whereupon *Amulius*, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and cast 'em away: this Man some call *Faustulus*; others say *Faustulus* was the Man who brought them up: whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a small Trough, and went towards the River with a design to cast them in; but seeing the Waters flow down apace and very rough, he was afraid to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himself off. The River overflowing, the Flood at last bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleasant Plain, which they now call *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, as it should seem because *Brothers* are called *Germani*. Near this Place grew a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*, either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from * *Ruminating*, because Cattle did usually in the heat of the day seek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud; or chiefly from the suckling of these Children there; for the Antients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddess of all young Children they still call *Rumilia*, in sacrificing to whom they make no use of Wine, but their Libations are made With Milk.

* *Ruminoſ*
ſignifies to
chew the
Cud.

* Δρυοκο-
λαπης.

Milk. While the Infants lay here, History tells us, a she-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a little * Wood-pecker constantly fed and foster'd 'em: These Creatures are esteem'd holy to the God *Mars*; and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latins* particularly worship and honour it. From hence Credit was more easily given to what the Mother of the Children said, that she was with Child (1) by the God *Mars*; tho' they say that mistake was put upon her by *Amulius* himself, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and so committed a Rape upon her Body.

Others think the first rise of this Fable came from the Childrens Nurse, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the *Latins* not only call'd Wolves *Lupæ*, but also leud and prostitute Women: And such a one was the Wife of *Faustulus*, who nurtur'd these Children, *Acca Laurentia* by Name; to Her the *Romans* continue still to perform their Sacrifices, the Priest of *Mars* every *April* offering special Libations at her Tomb; and This Feast they call *Larentia* *. They honour also another *Lau-*

* Or *Larentalia*, according to *Ovid*, who says it was in December.

rentia much upon the like occasion; as thus. The Keeper of *Hercules's* Temple having, it seems, little else to do, propos'd to his Deity a Game at Dice, making a bargain that if he himself won, he would have something valuable of the God; but if he was beaten, he would spread the God a noble Table, and procure withal a fair Lady to lie with him. Upon these terms reckoning first the Chances that were thrown for the God, and then for himself, he found plainly he had lost; so being willing to shew himself a fair Gamester, and thinking it honest to stick to the Proposals he

(1) Nothing was more common in those times of Darkness than for Lasses under the like Circumstances, to father their Issue upon some God or other, who

was thereby to cover their Shame and make them triumph in their Transgression; in This the System of the Pagan Religion was of admirable Use to them,

made

made himself, he both provided the Deity a good Supper, and seeing *Laurentia*, who was a fine Creature, tho' not as yet a fam'd Beauty, treated her in the Temple, where he had also laid a Bed, and after Supper lock'd her in, as if the God were really to enjoy her: and indeed it is said, the Deity did truly bed the Lady, and commanded her in the Morning to walk the Streets, and whatever Man she met first, Him to salute, and make her Friend. The Man she met was by Name *Tarrutius*, far stricken in Years, but of a competent Subsistence, without Children, and had always liv'd a single Life: This Man * knew *Laurentia*, and lov'd her * *2710* well, and at his death left her sole Heir of all his large and fair Possessions, most of which she in her last Will and Testament bequeath'd to the People. It is reported of her, that being now a celebrated Beauty, and esteem'd the Mistress of a God, she suddenly disappear'd near the Place where the first *Laurentia* lay buried; the Place is at this day call'd *Velabrum*, because, the River frequently overflowing, they went over in Ferry-boats much about this Place to the Market, which manner of Wastage the *Latins* call *Velatura*; Others derive the Name from *Velum*, a *Veil*, because the Exhibitors of publick Shows, generally making their Procession from the Market-place to the *Circus-maximus* (or common Show-place) did always *veil* the space between, beginning at this place. Upon these accounts is the second *Laurentia* so highly honour'd at *Rome*.

All this while, *Fausfulus*, *Amulius*'s Neat-herd, educated the Children privately from the knowledge of all Men; but, as Some say, and with the greatest likelihood too, *Numitor* was conscious all along to the thing, and made allowances under-hand to Those that kept them. 'Tis also said that when they were Boys they were carried to *Gabii*, and well instructed in Letters, and all other Accomplishments befitting their Birth and Quality. The
reason

* Ruma
signifying a
Dog.

reason of their Names (*Romulus* and *Remus*) was, as you find it in Story, because they were seen *sucking of the Wolf. In their very Infancy, the Noble Structure of their Bodies presently discover'd the natural Greatness of their Minds and Thoughts; and when they grew up, they Both prov'd of great Bravery and Manhood, attempting all Enterprizes that seem'd hazardous, and shewing a Courage altogether undaunted. But *Romulus* seem'd rather to excel in Wisdom, and to have an Understanding more adapted to politick Affairs in his Life and Conversation among his Neighbours, both in feeding his Flock, and managing his Dogs for Hunting; raising a great Opinion in All, that he was born rather to Rule and Govern than be a Subject. To their Comrades, nay Inferiors, they were affable and courteous; but the King's Servants, his Bayliffs and Overseers, as being in nothing better than themselves, they despis'd and slighted, nor were they in the least concern'd at their Menaces or their Anger. They us'd honest Pastimes, and liberal Studies, and so far were they from esteeming Sloth and Idleness as Things commendable, that they constantly us'd the Exercises of Races, Hunting, catching of Robbers, taking of Thieves, and delivering the wrong'd and oppressed from Injury. Upon this account they became Famous.

Now there happening a Quarrel betwixt *Numitor's* and *Amulius's* Neat-herds, *Romulus* and *Remus* resenting the driving away of their Cattle (1), fell foul upon them, and put 'em to flight, and rescued withal the greatest part of the prey. At which *Numitor* being highly incens'd, they little regarded it, but pick'd up and took into their Company a great many needy Fellows, and many Slaves to whom they gave opportunity and encou-

(1) In those days a Man's / to his Flocks, and Herds, as it
Wealth was valued in Proportion / was in the times of the Patriarchs.

rage to revolt from their Masters. Now it
 happen'd that when *Romulus* was employing him-
 self at a Sacrifice, (for he was a lover of holy Ce-
 remonies and Prophecies) *Numitor's* Neat-herds
 meeting with *Remus*, as he went with a small Re-
 tinue, fell upon him, and some few Blows and
 Wounds passing between them, took *Remus* Pri-
 soner; who being carried before *Numitor*, and
 there accus'd of Misdemeanors, *Numitor* would not
 punish him himself, fearing his Brother, as being a
 Person subject to be angry, but deliver'd him into his
 Hands, and desir'd Justice might be done him, as he
 was his Brother, and had been injur'd by his Servants,
 who thought they might do what they pleas'd be-
 cause He had the Sovereign Authority. The Men of
Alba likewise resenting the thing ill, and thinking
 the Man dishonourably us'd, *Amulius* was induced
 to deliver *Remus* up into *Numitor's* hands, to use
 him as he thought fit. He therefore took and
 carried him home, and being struck with admira-
 tion of the Youth's Person, in proportion and
 strength of Body exceeding all men, and percei-
 ving in his very Countenance the Courage and
 Presence of his Mind, which stood undaunted
 and unshaken in his present Calamities, and hear-
 ing farther all the Enterprises and Actions of his
 Life were answerable to what he saw of him, but
 chiefly (as it seem'd) God influencing and direct-
 ing the Beginnings of such great things as were to
 follow; he having a desire and opportunity to en-
 quire into the truth of him, in gentle Terms, and
 with a kind Aspect, raising a confidence and hope
 in him, ask'd him Who he was, and what were
 the Circumstances of his Birth. He taking heart,
 spoke thus: *I will, Sir, hide nothing from you, for*
you seem to be of a more Princely Temper than Amu-
lius, in that you give a hearing, and examine fairly,
before you punish; but He condemns before the Cause is
heard. First then, We (for we are Twins) thought

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our selves the Sons of Faustus and Laurentia, the King's Servants; but since we have been accus'd and aspers'd with Calumnies, and are forced to stand upon our Defence every Day, we hear great things of our selves, the truth whereof will appear from the issue of the danger I am at present in. Our Birth is said to have been miraculous, our Fostering and Nurture in our Infancy still more strange; by Birds and Beasts, to whom we were cast out, by them were we fed, that is, by the Milk of a Wolf, and the small Morsels of a Woodpecker, as we lay in a little Trough by the side of a great River: the Trough is now in being, and is preserv'd with Brass Plates round it, and an Inscription in old obscure Characters on it, which may prove hereafter perhaps (but very insignificant) tokens to our Parents, when we are dead and gone. Numitor, upon these words, and recollecting the Time too, according to the young Man's Looks, slighted not the Hope that flatter'd him, but took care how to come at his Daughter privately, (for she was still kept under restraint) to talk with her concerning these Matters.

Faustus hearing Remus was taken, and deliver'd up to Numitor, begg'd Romulus to assist in his rescue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of their Birth; not but he had before given them some hints of it, and told them so much as might, if they attended to it, give them no mean thoughts of themselves. He himself, full of Concern, and fear of not coming in time, took the Trough, and ran instantly with it to Numitor; but giving a suspicion to some of the King's Centry at the Gate, and being gaz'd upon by 'em, and perplex'd with their impertinent Questions, could not but discover the Trough under his Cloak. Now by chance there was One among them who was at the exposing of the Children, having with Others been employ'd in that Office; He seeing the Trough, and knowing it by its

Make and Inscription, guess'd at the business, and without farther delay telling the King of it, brought in the Man to be examin'd. In these dangerous Circumstances, *Faustulus* was not a little intimidated, and yet they could not wholly force him out of All: He confess'd indeed the Children were alive, but tending their Flocks far off from *Alba*; that he himself was going to carry the Trough to *Ilia*, who had often greatly desir'd to see it, for a Confirmation of the hopes of her Children. As Men generally do, who are troubled in Mind, and act either in Fear or Passion, it so fell out with *Amulius*; for he sent in all haste a Messenger, an honest Man, and a sure Friend to *Numitor*, with Commands to enquire of *Numitor*, whether any Tidings had come to him of the Children, as if they were in Being. Now the Man being come, and seeing how little *Remus* wanted of being received into the Arms and Embraces of *Numitor*, he both strengthned his Belief of what he hoped to be true, and advis'd withal to undertake the Business with all expedition, and he himself clos'd with 'em, and acted jointly. The strictness of time, tho' they had been desirous, did not suffer them to demur: For *Romulus* was now drawn very near, and many of the Citizens, out of fear and hatred of *Amulius*, revolted to his side; besides he brought great Forces with him, divided into Companies, consisting each of 100 Men, every Captain carrying a small bundle of Grass and Shrubs tied to a Pole. The *Latins* call such Bundles, *Manipuli*, and from hence it is that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, the Tyrant not knowing either what to do, or what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Distraction was taken and put to Death. These

being for the most part the Relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles* of *Peparethus* (who I think is the first that writes of the building of *Rome*) some suspect them as only fabulous and made Stories; but they ought not wholly to be disbeliev'd, if Men would consider Fortune, what strange things it sometimes brings about; and take an estimate of the Actions of the *Romans*, how improbable it is they could arrive at this Greatness, had (1) They not some miraculous Original, attended with great and extraordinary Circumstances.

Amulius now being dead, and Matters quietly dispos'd, the two Brothers would neither dwell in *Alba* without Governing there, nor were they willing to take the Government into their own hands, during the Life of their Grandfather. Having therefore deliver'd the Dominion up into his hands, and paid their Mother such Respects as their Duty oblig'd 'em to, they resolv'd to live by themselves, and build a City in the same place where they were in their Infancy brought up; for This was the most specious pretence they could make of their departure: Tho' perhaps it was necessary, so many shoals of Slaves and Fugitives continually flocking to 'em, either to be totally dissolv'd, by dispersing them; or else to take a separate habitation elsewhere with 'em: For that the Inhabitants of *Alba* did not think Fugitives worthy of being receiv'd and incorporated Citizens among them, first plainly appear'd, from the Adventure upon the *Sabines*, which really was not attempted out of any violent Lust, but deliberately,

(1) *Plutarch* throughout all his Writings gives many Instances of his Credulity, very rarely to be met with in a Man of his Sense. This Credulity in Him was owing to his Superstition, which is always known to blind the Understanding, and to hinder Those, who are possess'd with it from distinguishing between Truth and Falshood.

purely out of want and necessity of lawful Wives, whom they afterwards extreamly lov'd and honour'd.

Not long after the first Foundation of the City, they open'd a Sanctuary of Refuge for all Fugitives, which they call'd the Temple of the God (1) *Afyleus*, where they receiv'd and protected all, delivering none back, either the Servant to his Master, the Debtor to his Creditors, or the Murderer into the hands of the Magistrate; saying it was a Privileg'd Place, and they could so maintain it by an Order of the holy Oracle: inso-much that the City grew presently very Populous, for they say it consisted at first of no more than 1000 Houses. But of That hereafter.

Their minds being fully bent upon Building, there arose presently a difference about the Place where. *Romulus* built a Square of Houses, which he call'd *Rome*, and would have the City be there; *Remus* laid out a piece of Ground on the *Aventine* Mount, well fortify'd by nature, which was then from him call'd *Remonius*, but now *Rignarium*. Concluding at last to decide the Contest by a Divination from a Flight of Birds, and placing themselves apart at some distance, to *Remus*, they say, appear'd six Vulturs, to *Romulus* double the Number; others say, *Remus* did truly see his Number, and that *Romulus* feign'd His, but when *Remus* came to him, that then he did indeed see Twelve. Hence it is that the *Romans* in their Divinations from Birds, do chiefly regard the Vultur. Tho' *Herodorus* of *Pontus* relates that *Hercules* was always very joyful when a Vultur ap-

(1) Or the God of Refuge, for *Afyleus* is not a proper name but an Epithet of the God of that place: which some think to have been *Apollo*. But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, he could not find to what God or *Demon* the Temple was dedicated.

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pear'd to him upon any Action; for it is a Creature the least hurtful of any, pernicious neither to Corn, Plants, or any Cattle; it preys only upon Carrion, and never kills or hurts any living thing; and as for Birds, it touches not them tho' they are dead, as being of its own Species; whereas Eagles, Owls, and Hawks, prey upon all their own Fellow-creatures; but *Eschylus* says,

Ὀρνίθε δ' ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φάγῶν;

What Bird is clean that preys on's fellow-Bird?

Besides, all other Birds we see (as the saying is) every day, and they occur continually to our Senses, but a Vultur is a very rare sight, and you shall seldom meet with a Man that has seen any of their young; insomuch that the rarity and unfrequency of 'em has rais'd an absurd opinion in Some, that they come to us from some other Countries; as Soothsayers judge whatever happens preternaturally or inspontaneously to be sent from God.

When *Remus* knew the Cheat, he was much displeas'd; and as *Romulus* was casting up a Ditch where he design'd the Foundation of the City-Wall, some parts of the Work he turn'd to ridicule, Others he obstructed: At last as he was in contempt skipping over the Work, Some say, *Romulus* (1) himself kill'd him upon the Spot. Others, that it was done by *Celer*, one of his Companions: However there fell *Remus*. In that Scuffle also was *Faustulus* slain, and *Plistinus*, who being *Faustulus*'s Brother, Story tells us, had a share in the Education of *Romulus*. *Celer* upon This fled in-

(1) Others say he was slain in the Fray, contrary to the Order of *Romulus*, who was so afflicted at his Death that he had laid violent Hands on Himself if he had not been prevented.

stantly

stantly into *Tuscany*, and from Him do the *Romans* call all Men that are swift of foot, or quick in business, *Celeres*; and because *Quintus Metellus*, at his Father's Funeral, in a few days time gave the People a Shew of Sword-playing, they admiring his Expedition, gave him the Name of *Celer*.

Romulus, having buried his Brother *Remus*, together with his two Foster-fathers, on the Mount *Remonius*, began to build his City, having first sent for Men (1) out of *Tuscany*, who, with certain holy Ceremonies and drawing of Schemes, directed and taught how every thing should be done, as is usual in *Sacred Rites*. For first, They dug a Trench round That which is now the *Comitium*, or Hall of Justice; and into it did they solemnly throw the first Fruits of all things, either good by Custom, or necessary by Nature: lastly, every Man taking a small (2) Turf of Earth of the Country from whence he came, they all threw 'em in promiscuously together. This Trench they call'd *Mundus*, (the whole World) making which their Center, they design'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plow a Brazen Plowshare, and yoking together a Bull and

(1) There had been for a long time before Twelve Cities in *Tuscany*, each of which had its King. These Kings were call'd *Lucumones*, but it is not known what their Original was, nor the Ceremonies they made use of. Perhaps they had been conducted thither from *Greece* by *Evander*, or the *Arcadians*. Tho' for my Part I think we need seek no farther for their Original than their own Superstition, and Effeminacy, for certainly no People were ever more superstitious, and sensual at the same time, than the *Tuscans*.

(2) This is indeed a pleasant Imagination; provided they preserv'd an Handful of Earth belonging to their own Country they wou'd not imagine they had quitted it. *Ovid* however does not say that it was a Handful of the Earth Each had brought out of his Own Country, but of the Earth he had taken out of his Neighbours, & *de vicino terra petita solo*, which was done to signify that *Rome* shou'd subdue the neighbouring Nations, and in time become Mistress of the World.

a Cow, drew himself a deep Line or Furrow round the Bounds; the business of Them that follow'd after, was to see whatever Earth was thrown up, should be turn'd all inwards toward the City, and not to slip a Clod that fell outwards. With this Line did they describe the Wall, all within which were the Territories of the City, which they call'd *Pomærium*, from *Post murum*, or *Pone mœnia*, by the cutting off or changing some Letters; where they design'd to make a Gate, there taking the Plowshare out of the Ground they lifted up the Plow, and left a space for it: whereupon they esteem the whole Wall as holy, except only where the Gates are; for had they adjudged Them also sacred, they could not without offence to Religion have had a free ingress and egress for the Necessaries of human Life, and for Things which are in themselves unclean. As for the day on which they began to build the City, 'tis confess'd of all hands to be the (1) 21st of *April*, and that Day the *Romans* do

(1) Instead of the 21st of *April* it is in the Text the 11th of the *Calends* of *May*; and this Method of dating deserves some Explanation. The *Roman* Months were Lunar, and their Way of reckoning was by *Nones*, *Ides*, and *Calends*. The Day of the *Nones* was the first Quarter of the Moon, and the *Ides* the day when the Moon was at the full, that is there were always Eight days compleat between the *Nones*, and the *Ides*. When the *Nones* fell upon the 5th of the Months the *Ides* were on the 13th, if on the 7th then they were on the 15th, so that the *Nones* were the Ninth day before the *Ides*, for which Reason they were called *Nones*; and the way of reckoning was before the *Nones*; and before the *Ides*. The First, the Second, the Third day before the *Nones*, or before the *Ides* of such a Month, that is, the First, the Second, or the Third day before the first Quarter, or before the full Moon. The *Ides* were so called either from the *Tuscan* Word *Iduare*, which signifies to divide, or from the *Greek* Word *Εἶδος*, *Face*, because on that day the full Face of the Moon was to be seen. The *Calends* were the first day of the Month, and the first of the Moon, so called from the old Word *Calare* to denote, or publish, because on that day the High Priest gave Notice on what days the *Nones*, and *Ides* were to fall. From the *Ides*, that is from the full

do anniverſarily keep holy, calling it their Country's Birth-day. At firſt, they ſay, they ſacrificed no living Creature on this Day, thinking it very decent and behoveful to celebrate the Feaſt of their Country's Birth-day, purely, and without the ſtain of Blood : nevertheleſs before the City was ever built, there was a Feaſt of the Herdſmen and Shepherds kept on this day, which went by the Name of *Palilia*. But now the *Roman* and *Grecian* Months have little or no Analogy ; Theſe ſay the Day *Romulus* began to build was infallibly the 30th of the Month, at which time there was a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon attended with an Eclipse (1), which happen'd in the 3d Year of the 6th *Olympiad*, which the *Grecians* imagine (2) *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet was acquainted with. In the times of *Varro* the Philoſopher, a Man very

full Moon of the preſent to the Calends of the ſucceeding Month. that is to the new Moon, there were ſometimes 15 and ſometimes 16 days, which depended upon the firſt day of the Month following, as in this Paſſage in *Plutarch*, the 11th of the Calends of *May*, that is the 11th day before the Firſt of *May*, which is exactly the 21ſt of *April*. And if I wou'd know what Calend ſuch a day of one of our Months is I muſt add two to that day upon which I am making the Inquiry. For Example, I want to know how I am to date the 21ſt of *April* after the Manner of the *Romans*, by Calends. I am to conſider that *April* has 30 days, now from the 21ſt of that Month to the 30th are Nine days, to thoſe I add Two, which make 11. The Eleventh of the Calends of *May*. In like manner if I

wou'd know on what day of our Month the Calends of *May* fall, I am to deduct 2 from 11. *April* having 30 days, and there remain 9 ; ſo that the 11th of the Calends is the 9th day before the 30th of *April*, that is the 21ſt.

(1) Or, an Ecliptick Conjunction of the Moon with the Sun ; which plainly implies there was on that day an Eclipse of the Sun, and not of the Moon, as Some have tranſlated it. For it is impoſſible there ſhou'd be an Eclipse of the Moon on the 30th of the Month when ſhe is in Conjunction, becauſe ſhe is then between the Sun, and Us ; but there might have been an Eclipse of the Sun in that Conjunction, the Moon being exactly under the Ecliptick, as *Plutarch* tells us in this Place ſhe was.

(2) This *Antimachus* was contemporary with *Plato*.

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well read in *Roman* History, liv'd one *Tarrutius*, his familiar Friend and Acquaintance, both a good Philosopher and a skilful Mathematician, and One too that out of curiosity of Speculation had studied the way of drawing Schemes and Tables, and seem'd to be excellent in the Art : to Him *Varro* propounded to cast *Romulus's* Nativity, even to the first Day and Hour, and to make his Deductions from the several Events of the Man's Life which he should be inform'd of, as the Solutions of Geometrical Problems do require; for it belongs to the same Science both to foretel a Man's Life, by knowing the time of his Birth, and also to find out his Birth by the knowledge of his Life. This task *Tarrutius* undertook, and first looking into the Actions and Casualties of the Man, together with the time of his Life and manner of his Death, and then comparing all these Remarks together, he very confidently and positively pronounc'd, that *Romulus* (1) was conceiv'd in his Mother's

(1) This exactly Agrees with the Tradition of all the Authors that have written upon the Subject. They say that *Romulus* founded *Rome* at the Age of 18, the first Year of the Seventh Olympiad, that he reign'd 37 Years, and died when he was 55 Years old. For if *Romulus* was 18 when he laid the Foundation of *Rome*, which was in the First Year of the Seventh Olympiad, it follows that he was born the Third Year of the Second, and by consequence was conceiv'd in his Mother's Momb the Year before, that is the Second of the same Olympiad, and not the First, as Some have imagined. This is confirm'd by the Authority of the

Astronomers; who declare that that Year there was a great Eclipse of the Sun on the 11th of the Month *Athyri*, which answers to our *November*; but that there was none the preceding Year we are assured by the same Astronomers. However there are some who oppose this Calculation, by shewing how improbable it is that *Romulus* shou'd have been able to have perform'd all the Exploits attributed to him at the Age of 18: that the Ancients upon occasion of mentioning the Age of *Romulus*, have very inadvertently follow'd *Tarrutius* his Calculation. They pretend farther that *Romulus* was conceiv'd five Years before, that is in the Year

Mother's Womb, the first Year of the second Olympiad, the twenty-third Day of the Month the Egyptians call *Chæac* (1), (which may be said to answer our *December*) and about the third Hour, at which time there was a total Eclipse of the Sun; that he was born the twenty-first Day of the Month *Thoth*, (which is *September*) about Sun-rising; and that the first Stone of *Rome* was laid by him the ninth Day of the Month *Pharmuthi*, (*April*) between the second and third hour. For, as to the Fortune of Cities, as well as Men, they think they have their certain Periods of time prefix, which may be collected and foreknown from the Positions of the Stars at their first Foundation. These and the like Relations may perhaps rather take and delight the Reader with their Novelty and Extravagancy, than offend him because they are fabulous.

The City being now built, *Romulus* lifted all that were of Age to bear Arms into Military Companies, each Company consisting of 3000 Footmen, and 300 Horse (2). These Companies were call'd

* *Legions*, because they were the choicest and most select of the People for fighting Men; the rest of the Multitude he call'd [*Populus*] the People. A hundred of the most eminent Men he chose for his Counsellors; these he stil'd *Patricians*, and the whole Body of 'em, the *Senate*, which signifies truly a * Consistory of venerable Old Men (3). The Senators,

* From *Legio*, to *Chuse*.

* *Γερουσία*.

Year of the World 3172, on the fourth of *April*, at which time there was an Eclipse of the Sun; and according to this reckoning *Romulus* was twenty-three Years old when he laid the Foundation of *Rome*, and dyed at sixty.

(1) *Tarrutius* reckon'd by the Egyptian Months, because he follow'd the Astrology of the Egyptians.

(2) It should seem that the People encreased prodigiously whilst the City was building, if it be true what *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* reports, viz. that when they first set about that Work, they were not in all above 300 Horse, and 3000 Foot.

(3) According to the Custom of the Greeks and the Kings of the East, the Princes in those early Days

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Senators, some say, were call'd *Patricians* (1), because they were the Fathers of honest and lawful Children; Others, because they could give a good account who their *Fathers* were (2), which every one of the Rabble that pour'd into the City at first could not do; Others, from *Patrocinium*, [or Patronage,] by which they meant, and do still mean, that Protection which they afford the Common People; attributing the Origin of the Word to *Patronus*, One of Those that came over with *Evan-der*, a Man signal for being a careful Defender of the Weak and Needy. But perhaps the most probable Conjecture may be to suppose, that *Romulus* esteeming it the Duty of the chiefest and wealthiest Men, with a Fatherly Care and Concern, to look after the Meaner, and withal encouraging the Commonalty not to dread or be aggriev'd at the Honours of their Superiors, but with all good Will to make use of 'em, and to think and call 'em their *Fathers*, might from hence give them the Name of *Patricians* (3). For at this very time all

days did not govern with an absolute uncontrollable Authority, but follow'd the Advice of Those that were most eminent among their Subjects for Age and Experience, as is evident from *Homer*, and the sacred History.

(1) The Dignity of *Patrician* was not confin'd to the Senators alone, but was conferr'd on the whole Body of Nobles, whom *Romulus* had separated from the People according to the Custom of the *Athenians*. The Senators were called *Fathers*, and their Descendants were of course *Patricians*.

(2) In proof of This it is alledg'd, that whenever the Kings caused an Assembly of the *Patricians* to be proclaim'd, the Herald call'd

each of them by his own Name, and by That of his Father; whereas in an Assembly of the People, They were summon'd by a sort of Horn; but *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* makes it appear that the Horn was used not by way of Contempt, but for Expedition sake. How was it possible to summon every Individual of the whole Body of a numerous People, by his Name and Surname?

(3) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* writes that *Romulus* only gave the Name, and changed for the better, or reform'd a Custom that was in Being long before his Time; for it had been observ'd in *Thessaly*, and among the primitive *Athenians*. But there was a great deal of

all Foreigners style Those that sit in this Council, *Lords* and *Presidents*: but the *Romans* making use of a more honourable and less invidious Name, call them *Patres Conscripti*; at first indeed simply *Patres*, but afterwards more being added, *Patres Conscripti*: and by this honourable Title was the *Senate* distinguish'd from the *Populacy*. The rest of the wealthier sort he distinguish'd from the common People, by calling Them *Patrons*, that is, *Protectors*, and These their *Clients*, that is, *Dependents*; by which means he created a wonderful Love and Amity betwixt 'em, which begat great Justice in their dealings. For *They* were always their *Clients* Counsellors in litigious Cases, their Advocates in Judgments; in fine, their Advisers and Overseers in all Affairs whatever. *These* again faithfully serv'd their *Patrons*, not only paying them all respect and deference, but also, in case of Poverty, helping them to place their Children, and pay off their Debts; and for a *Patron* to witness against his *Client*, or a *Client* against his *Patron*, That no Law nor Magistrate could enforce⁽¹⁾. But in After-times, all other Offices of Equity conti-

of Difference between the *Thessalian* and *Athenian* Clients, and the *Roman*, the First were no better than Slaves, and the Nobles behaved more like their Tyrants than Protectors.

(1) If a Client or Patron was wanting in any of these Respects, he was deem'd a Traitor, and subject to the Punishment established by *Romulus* at the same Time, by which he was execrated or outlaw'd, and the first that met him might murder him with Impunity. These mutual Offices between the Patron and Client subsisted for the space of 620 Years, till *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune, who light-

ed up the Firebrand of Sedition in *Rome*. It will not be improper to take Notice upon This Occasion, that this Patronage was exercised by the Nobles not only towards the People of *Rome*, but that in Process of Time several Colonies, Cities, nay and entire Islands made choice of some Patrician, and claim'd the Benefit of his Protection; and even the Senate had so great Regard for this Relation and Dependance, that it did frequently refer the Causes of Cities and Communities to their respective Patrons, before Whom they were to plead, and whose Decrees were confirm'd by the Senate.

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nuing still between 'em, it was thought a base and dishonourable thing, for the Better sort to take Money from their Inferiors. And so much of these Matters.

In the fourth Month after the City was built, (as *Fabius* writes) the Adventure of stealing Women was attempted; and, some say, *Romulus* himself, being naturally a martial Man, and predisposed too perhaps by some certain Oracles, as if the Fates had ordain'd the future Growth and Greatness of *Rome* should depend upon the benefit of War, did begin to use Violence to the *Sabins*, and that he took away only thirty Virgins, rather to give an occasion of War, than out of any want of Women; tho' This is not very probable, but rather that he observing his City presently fill'd by a Confluence of Foreigners, few of whom had Wives, and that the Multitude in general, consisting of a mixture of mean and obscure Creatures, fell under Contempt⁽¹⁾, and seem'd to be of no long continuance together; and hoping far-

(1) The Contempt mention'd here by *Plutarch* is not That of their Neighbours, it is not foreign but domestick; He means the Contempt which the most considerable of those primitive *Romans* had, or might have conceiv'd, of the Rest, who were in Truth no better than miserable Slaves, and Vagabonds. The Contempt they might be under with their Neighbours, who disdain'd an Alliance with an Upstart People, might shorten their Duration; for a Nation of Men can subsist no longer than the Age of Man; but That could not raise a Division among them, provided they were at Unity within themselves, and that was the Di-

vision *Romulus* feared, "as indeed it was the most to be apprehended. The Mischief arising from the Contempt their Neighbours might entertain of them was at a Distance, whereas the Other was in their very Bowels. Besides, it was impossible for them to despise one another, without being despised at the same time by their Neighbours. For if those Wretches were condemn'd by their Fellow-Citizens, incorporated in the same Body with them, and who could not maintain themselves without their Concurrence and Assistance, what were They to expect from their Neighbours, whom they had forsaken, and among whom were their Masters?

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ther, after the Women were appeas'd, to make this Injury in some measure an occasion of Confederacy and mutual Commerce with the *Sabins*, he took in hand this exploit after this manner: First he gave it out, as if he had found an Altar of a certain God hid under ground, the God they call'd *Consus* (1), meaning either the God of *Council*, (for they still call a Consult, *Consilium*, and their chief Magistrates, *Consules*, namely *Counsellors*) or else *Neptune*, the Inventor of Horse-riding; for the Altar is kept cover'd in the greater (2) *Cirque* or Tilt-yard at other times, only at Horse-racing then it appears to publick view; and some say, it was not without reason that this God had his Altar hid under ground, because all Counsels ought to be secret and conceal'd. Upon discovery of this Altar, *Romulus* by Proclamation appointed a Day for a splendid Sacrifice, and for publick Games and Shews, to entertain all sorts of People, and many flock'd thither; he himself sat uppermost, amidst his Nobles, clad in Purple. Now the Sign of their falling on was to be, whenever he arose and gather'd up his Robe, and threw it over his Body; his Men stood all ready arm'd, with their Eyes intent upon him; and when the Sign was given, drawing their Swords, and falling on with a great Shout, ravish'd away the Daughters of the *Sabins*, but suffered the Men to fly off with-

(1) They were forbidden to divulge the true Name of that God; they only distinguish'd him by that Name, which was an Attribute, and not a proper Name.

(2) That *Cirque* was built afterwards by *Ancus Martius* for Horse and Chariot Races, between the Mounts *Palatine* and *Aventine*. We must observe, that tho' *Neptune* was worshipped under the

Name of *Equestris*, or *Hippius*, because he first found out the Means of breaking Horses, yet we are not to believe that this Altar belong'd to Him, for neither the *Greeks* nor *Strangers* did ever inter Neptune's Altar; the Altar therefore belong'd to the God *Consus*, and the Games were celebrated in Honour of *Neptune*.

out any let or hindrance. Some say, there were but thirty taken, and from Them were the Tribes or Parishes nam'd; but *Valerius Antias* says, 527; (1) *Juba*, 683, all *Virgins*: which was the greatest Excuse *Romulus* made, That they had taken never a married Woman save One only, *Herfilla* by Name, and Her too unknowingly, who became the means of their Reconciliation, for as much as it appear'd, that they did not out of an Affront or Injury commit this Rape, but with a Design purely to join Families, and unite them upon the greatest and surest Bonds. This *Herfilla*, Some say, *Hostilius* married, a most eminent Man among the *Romans*; Others, *Romulus* himself, and that she bare two Children to him; a Daughter, who by reason of *Primogeniture* was call'd *Prima*, and one only Son, whom from the great Concourse of Citizens to him at that time, he call'd *Aollius*, but After-ages, *Abillius*. But these things *Zenodotus* the *Troezenian* writes, which are contradicted by many.

• Εἰς τοὺς
ἀρετῆς ὁδόν.

Among Those who committed this Rape upon the *Virgins*, there were, they say, as it so then happen'd, some of the meaner sort of Men, who were carrying off a Damsel, far excelling All both in Beauty and Comeliness of Stature, whom, when * some Gentlemen that met 'em, attempted to take from 'em, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talasius*, a young Man indeed, but a brave and worthy Person. Hearing That, they commended and applauded them highly; insomuch that some turning back, accompa-

(1) This *Juba* was the Son of a King of *Mauritania*, vanquish'd by *Cesar*. He was very young when he was led in Triumph to *Rome*, where his Captivity prov'd very fortunate, for he was well instructed, and became an excellent Historian. *Augustus* gave him a great Part of *Getulia*, with the Dominions of *Bogud*, and caus'd him to marry *Cleopatra*, *Anthony's* Daughter.

nied them with great joy and gladness, shouting and extolling the Name of *Talasius*. Hence do the *Romans* at this very time at their Weddings sing *Talasius* for their Nuptial Word, as the *Greeks* do *Hymeneus*, because, say they, this Lady proved a fortunate and happy Match to him. But *Sestius Sylla* the *Carthaginian*, a Man wanting neither Learning nor Ingenuity, told me, *Romulus* gave this word as a sign when to begin the Onset; every body therefore who made prize of a Virgin, cried out, *Talasius*; and for that Reason the Custom continues so now at Marriages. But Most are of opinion, (of whom *Juba* particularly is One) that this Word was used to new-married Women, by way of Admonishment and Incitement to good Huswifery, the *Greek* Word *ταλασία* signifying *Spinning*, and the *Greek* Language not being then mix'd with the (1) *Italian*. But if this be not a mistake, and if the *Romans* did at that time use the word *ταλασία*, as we *Græcians* do, a man might fancy a more probable Reason of the Custom. For when the *Sabins*, after the War against the *Romans*, were reconcil'd, Conditions were made concerning their Women, That they should be obliged to do no other servile Offices to their Husbands but what concern'd (2) *Spinning*; it was customary therefore ever after at Weddings, for Those that gave the Bride, or led her, or for any one else present, sportingly to say *Talasius*, intimating thereby, how

(1) It was a long time after when the *Greek* began to be corrupted by a Mixture of foreign Tongues. The *Latin* is only a Compound of *Greek*, and the Language of the Country, and its broad Pronunciation makes it come up nearer to the *Eolick*, than any of the other *Greek* Dialects.

(2) For this Reason the Bride the first time she went home to her Husband, carry'd with her a Distaff and Spindle, seated herself upon a Bundle of Wool, and drest up the Door with Wool.

she was now brought to no other Servitude but what was in *Spinning*. Moreover it is a Custom at this very day, for the Bride of herself not to go over her Husband's Threshold into the House, but to be lifted over it, in memory that the *Sabin* Virgins were carried in by violence, and would not enter freely. Some say too, the Custom of parting the Bride's Hair with the head of a Spear, was in token that their Marriages began at first by War, and Acts of Hostility; of which I have spoken more fully in my Book of *Questions*.

This Rape was committed the 18th Day of the Month then called *Sextilis*, which is now *August*, on which the Solemnities of the *Consualia* are kept.

The *Sabins* were a numerous and martial People, but liv'd in small unfortified Villages, as it became them, who were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*(1), to be naturally of great Courage, and fear nothing; nevertheless, seeing themselves by great Hostages bound up to their good behaviour, and being solicitous for their Daughters, they sent Ambassadors to *Romulus*, with fair and equitable Requests, that he would return their young Women, and retract that Act of Violence, and afterwards in all Reason and Equity establish a friendly and neighbourly Correspondence between both Nations. But *Romulus* would not part with the young Women, yet propos'd to the *Sabins* to enter into an Alliance with 'em: upon which point some consulted and demurr'd long; but *Acron* King of the *Ceni-*

(1) The History of the *Sabins* saith, that *Lycurgus* having framed the *Lacedæmonian* Laws, many of the *Spartans*, offended at the Severity of them, quitted their Country with an Intent to settle where they might live under less Re-

straint; that they first settled at *Pometia*, from whence several of them transplanted themselves into the Country of the *Sabins*, where they were united to the Inhabitants, and taught them their Customs.

nenses, a Man of great Courage, and well experienced in War, who had all along a jealousy of *Romulus's* bold Attempts, and considering particularly from this Exploit upon the Women, he would grow formidable to all People, and indeed insufferable, were he not chastised, was the first that rose up in Arms, and with a powerful Army made head against him. *Romulus* likewise prepared to receive him; but when they came within fight, and viewed each other, they made a Challenge to fight a single Duel, the two Armies standing by under Arms without moving. Hereupon *Romulus* prayed and made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he did conquer his Enemy, he would himself dedicate his Adversary's Armour to his Honour; upon which he both overcame him in Combat, and after Battle was join'd, routed his Army also, and then took his City: but he did Those he found in it no further injury, only commanded them to demolish their habitations, and attend him to (1) *Rome*, there to be made Citizens equally capable of all Privileges: And indeed there was nothing did more advance the Greatness of *Rome*, than that she did always unite and incorporate into her self, Those whom she conquer'd. Now *Romulus*, that he might perform his Vow in the most acceptable manner to *Jupiter*, and withal make the Pomp of it delightful to the Eye of the City, cut down a tall Oak which he saw growing in the Camp, which he adorn'd like a Trophy, and fa-

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith, that he left them at their Liberty; They that pleas'd might continue at home, and the Rest might remove to *Rome*; and that he only sent amongst them a Colony of 300 *Romans*; and This indeed was the safer way; for thereby he made sure both of the

One and the Other, both of Those that repair'd to *Rome*, and of Them that continued at home; at least in case of any Sedition, or Mutiny among the Latter, they were easily to be suppress'd by the Colony, which was a sort of Garrison upon them.

sten'd thereon *Acron's* whole Suit of Armour, in its right Symmetry of Parts; then he himself girding his Garment about him, and crowning his Head with a Laurel Garland, his Hair gracefully flowing, carried the Trophy erected upon his right Shoulder, and so march'd on, singing Songs of Triumph, with his whole Soldiery in their Arms following after, the Citizens all receiving him with Acclamations of Joy and Wonder. The Pomp of this Day gave both the Original and Model to all After-Triumphs. This Trophy was dedicated to *Jupiter* surnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in *Latin* is to smite⁽¹⁾; for *Romulus* pray'd he might smite and overthrow his Enemy. These Spoils were called *Opima Spolia*, [or Royal Spoils] (says *Varro*) from their Richness, which the Word⁽²⁾ *Opes* signifies; tho' one would more probably conjecture from the Action, *Opus* signifying a Deed or *Act*: for when the General of an Army with his own Hand kills his Enemy's General, to Him alone is granted the Honour of offering the ⁽³⁾ *Opima spolia*,

(1) It was not a Word at that time used in *Rome*. *Jupiter* was call'd *Feretrius* from the Greek Word *Pheretrum*, which properly signifies a Trophy, a Trunk of a Tree adorn'd with the Arms of the Enemy. *Livy* calls it *Ferculum*. *Spolia Ducis hostium casti, fabricato ad id aptè ferculo, gerens*. It likewise signifies a Chariot.

(2) The *Sabin* Word *Ops*, by which is meant the Earth, from whence Fruit of all sorts is produced, is for that Reason taken for Riches, and Power, and is the only genuine Signification of *Opima Spolia*, Rich Spoils, as Those that are taken from a vanquish'd General ought to be. See *Festus*

upon the Words *Opima Spolia*. The Etymology taken by *Plutarch* from the Word *Opus* must be a Mistake, because *Opus* was as much unknown to the *Romans* in those Days as was the Word *Ferire*.

(3) *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of Those who were misled by the Authority of *Livy*, very uncertain in its Nature, and from which he himself detracts. It is not to be deny'd but the constant Opinion of Antiquity down to this Author was, that the Spoils to be *Opima* were of necessity to be taken from the General of the Enemies; but it was not a necessary Condition that He that took them, and kill'd the General with his

his

as being the sole Performer of that *Act* or *Deed* of Bravery. And on three only of the *Roman* Captains did this Honour ever happen to be conferr'd: First on *Romulus*, upon killing *Acron* the *Geninensian*; next on *Cornelius Cossus* (1), for slaying

his own Hand should be Commander in Chief; for not only a Subaltern Officer but even a private Soldier was capable of obtaining those Spoils, and might make an Offering of them to *Jupiter*. This is *Varro's* Sentiment. *Marcus Varro ait, scilicet Festus, Opima Spolia esse etiam si manipularis Miles detraxerit, dummodo Duci hostium.* *Marcus Varro* tells us, that the Spoils taken even by a private Soldier are *Opima*, provided they are taken from the General of the Enemies. This is manifest even from the Law of *Numa*, wherein it is expressly said *cujus Auspicio classe procincta Opima Spolia capiuntur.* He under whose Conduct in a pitched Battle the *Opima Spolia* are taken, that is, the General under whose Command some Other obtains those Spoils. And This is farther confirm'd by Examples: for it is certain that this very *Cornelius Cossus*, who slew *Tolumnius* the *Tuscan*, was no more than a Tribune, the General was *Æmilius*.

(1) *Livy* giving an Account of this Action of *Cossus* in his fourth Book, at first follow'd the Opinion of all the antient Authors, and the constant Tradition of Antiquity, by which it is evident that *Cossus* obtain'd those Spoils in the Quality of a Tribune; but having afterwards heard *Augustus* say that in the Temple of *Jupiter*, which he had caused to be rebuilt, he himself had read the Inscription wherein *Cossus* is called Con-

sul, the Historian changed his Mind in Complaisance to that Prince, and said that *Cossus* was Consul, and as such had the Command of the Army. He did not, or rather would not, perceive that *Augustus* was misled for want of considering that the Inscription was not made whilst *Cossus* was alive, for at that time such Inscriptions were not in use, but came into Fashion a long time after; and the Authors of them, when they gave *Cossus* the Quality of Consul, did not thereby intend to signify that he was Consul at that very time when he obtain'd those Spoils, but that he had been Consul, tho' it was Nine or Ten Years after that Action. There are many Examples of such Inscriptions, wherein are express'd the Offices, which They, for whom they were intended, did not exercise till some time after they had perform'd the Actions for which they are celebrated in those Inscriptions, and He would create a strange Confusion in History, that should endeavour to make those Actions, and those Inscriptions, to co-incide in point of time. Thus by this Passage in *Festus, Altera Spolia qua Consul Cossus Cornelius de Tolumnio*, is not to be understood the second Spoils were Those which *Cornelius Cossus* obtain'd when he was Consul, but which were obtain'd by *Cossus*, who was afterwards advanced to the Dignity of Consul. We are not therefore

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ing *Tolumnius* the *Tuscan*; and lastly on *Claudius Marcellus*, upon his conquering *Viridomarus*, King of the *Gauls*. The two latter, *Cossus* and *Marcellus*, made their Entries in triumphant (1) Chariots, bearing their Trophies themselves: but *Dionysius* is in the wrong to say that *Romulus* made (2) use of a Chariot; for History says, *Tarquinius*, *Damaratus's* Son, was the first of the Kings that brought Triumphs to this great Pomp and Grandeur; others, that *Publicola* was the first that rode in a Chariot in Triumph: However, there are Statues of *Romulus* bearing these Trophies in Triumph yet to be seen in *Rome*, which are all on Foot.

After the Overthrow of the *Ceninenfians*, the other *Sabins* still protracting the time in preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Crustumerium*, and *Antenna*, join'd their Forces against the *Romans*; Battle was no sooner join'd, but they were likewise defeated, and surrendered up to *Romulus* their

therefore to wonder if *Plutarch*, a sort of Stranger to the *Roman* Antiquities, should split upon the same Rock with *Livy*, who may be thought to have fallen into the Snare not so much through Ignorance as in Complaisance to *Augustus*, and to confirm him in the Opinion he had receiv'd, and to which he was willing to adhere, that it was allow'd only to a General of an Army to make an Offering of the *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter*. *Augustus* his Design was to suppress the Tradition which maintain'd that private Persons had a Pretension to the same Honour; to which End he did, perhaps contrary to the Dictates of his own Reason, alledge the Authority of this Inscription, and drew from it

an unwarrantable Consequence.

(1) How could *Cossus* be admitted to enter *Rome* in Triumph, since that was an Honour reserv'd only for the General, and *Cossus* was at that time no more than a private Tribune? But this is a continuation of the same Mistake. The antient Tradition was that *Cossus* follow'd the Chariot of his General *Æmilius*, and drew upon him the Attention of all the People, who were more charmed with the Trophy he bore on his Shoulders, than with the Pomp of the other's Triumph.

(2) This Assertion in *Plutarch* is incontestably proved from the Medals, wherein *Romulus* is described marching afoot with his Trophy upon his Shoulders.

Cities to be spoil'd, their Lands and Territories to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to *Rome*. All the Lands which *Romulus* acquir'd, he distributed among the Citizens, except only what belonged to the Parents of the stolen Virgins, and Them he suffer'd to possess their own. The rest of the *Sabins* being enrag'd hereat, chusing *Tatius* for their Captain, march'd straight against *Rome*; the City was almost inaccessible, having for its Fortress That which is now the *Capitol*, where a strong Guard was placed; and *Tarpeius* was their Captain, not *Tarpeia* the Virgin, (as some say, who would make *Romulus* appear to have been a very weak Man.) But however, this *Tarpeia*, the Captain's Daughter, coveting the Golden Bracelets she saw the *Sabins* wear, betrayed the Fort into their hands, and asked in reward of her Treachery, All they wore on their left Arms. *Tatius* conditioning thus with her, in the night she open'd one of the Gates, and received the *Sabins* in: And truly (for ought I see) it is not *Antigonus* alone that said, *He lov'd Betrayers, but hated them after they had betray'd*; nor *Cæsar*, who said in the Case of *Rhymitacles* the *Thracian*, that *He lov'd the Treason, but hated the Traitor*. But it is a general kind of Disposition which all Men, who have occasion for wicked Persons, bear towards them; much such as they have for venomous Creatures, when they stand in need of their Poison and Gall; for as they love them while they are of use, so they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did *Tatius* behave himself (1) towards *Tarpeia*;

for

(1) *Piso* and other Historians try to Him, she endeavour'd in say, that *Tatius* treated her in this realiry to betray Him to *Romulus*, manner to punish her for her Per- whom she had advertised of all fidy, because whilst she pretended that had passed between Her and so betray *Romulus* and her Coun- the *Sabins*. In Proof of this They

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for he commanded the *Sabins*, in regard to their Contract, not to refuse her the least part of what they wore on their left Arms; upon that he himself first took his Bracelet off his Arm, and threw That, together with his Buckler, at her; and all the Rest doing the like, she was born down and quite smother'd with the abundance of Gold and their Shields, and so died under the great weight and pressure of them: nay, *Tarpeius* himself being prosecuted by *Romulus*, was found guilty of Treason, as, *Juba* says, *Sulpitius Galba* relates. Those who write otherwise concerning *Tarpeia*, as that she was the Daughter of *Tatius* the *Sabin* Captain, and being forcibly detain'd by *Romulus*, acted and suffer'd thus by her Father's contrivance, speak very absurdly: Of whom (1) *Antigonus* is one; but (2) *Simylus*, the Poet, makes a most egregious blunder, who thinks *Tarpeia* betrayed the *Capitol* not to the *Sabins*, but to the *Gauls*, having fallen in Love with their King. Thus he writes:

*Tarpeia 'twas, who dwelling close thereby,
Open'd the Walls of Rome to th' Enemy.
She hot in lust of the besieging Gaul,
Betray'd the City's Strength, the Capitol.*

And a little after speaking of her Death:

*But yet the Gauls, that strong and numerous Foe,
Drown'd not the Traitress in the Waves of Po,*

alledge the Honours the *Romans* paid her Memory after her Death, for she had a magnificent Monument in the *Capitol*, upon which the *Romans* offer'd Libations. This is not the way of punishing Traitors.

(1) *Antigonus Caristius*. He

liv'd in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and compiled a History of *Italy*. There is still remaining of his Works a small Collection of marvellous Histories.

(2) This *Simylus* wrote the History of *Italy* in Verse.

But,

But, with their Shields thrown on, her Body overlaid,
So dy'd, and was entomb'd at once, the wretched Maid.

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the Hill from her was call'd *Tarpeius*, until the Reign of King *Tarquin*, who dedicated the Place to *Jupiter*; at which time her Bones were removed, and so it lost her Name, except only that part of the *Capitol* which they still call the **Tarpeian Rock*, from whence they are wont to cast down Malefactors headlong.

The *Sabins* being possess'd of the Hill, *Romulus* in great fury offer'd them Battel, and *Tatius* put on the Courage to accept it, perceiving, if they were so constrain'd, where he might make a secure Retreat. The Level in the middle, where they were to join Battle, being surrounded with many little Hills, seem'd to enforce both Parties to a smart and desperate Conflict, by reason of the Difficulties of the Place, which had but a few narrow Outlets, inconvenient either for Flight or Pursuit. It happen'd too, that the River having overflow'd not many days before, there was left behind in the Plain, where now the Market stands, a deep blind Mud and Slime, which tho' it did not appear much to the eye, and was not easily avoided, yet at bottom was very deceitful and dangerous: upon which the *Sabins* being unwarily about to enter, had good luck beset them; for *Curtius*, a gallant Man, eager of Honour, and of aspiring Thoughts, being mounted on Horse-back, galloped a good distance before the Rest, but his Horse was mired (1),

(1) *Livy* and *Diomysius* relate this Matter otherwise. They say that *Metius Curtius*, after he had with great Gallantry repuls'd the *Romans*, was Himself repuls'd in his turn by *Romulus*, and that when he had receiv'd many Wounds, and lost much Blood, he casually fell into the Lake as he was endeavouring to make good his Retreat.

and

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and he endeavour'd a while by Whip and Spur to disintangle him ; but finding it impossible, he quitted his Horse, and saved himself. The Place from him to this very time is call'd the *Curtian Lake*. The *Sabins* being by this means warned to avoid this danger, began the Fight very smartly, in which the fortune of the day was very dubious, tho' many were slain ; amongst whom was *Hosfilus*, who, they say, was Husband to *Herfilia*, and Grandfather to that *Hosfilus* who reign'd after *Numa*. It is probable there were many other Battels in a short time after, but the most memorable was the last ; in which *Romulus* having receiv'd a Wound on his Head by a Stone, and being almost beat down to the ground by it, and disabled to sustain the Enemy, the *Romans* upon that yielded ground, and being driven out of the Plain, fled to the Mount *Palatine*. *Romulus* by this time recovering his Wound a little, and running upon his Men in their Flight, remanded them to their Arms again, and with a loud Voice encourag'd them to stand and fight. But being overpower'd with the number, and of Those that fled no body daring to face about, he stretched out his Hands to Heaven, and pray'd to *Jupiter* to stop the Army, and not to neglect but rather maintain the *Roman* Cause, which was now in extream Danger. This Prayer being made, Many were struck with a Reverence for their Prince, and the Fear of Those that fled was turn'd into a sudden Courage. The Place they first stood at, was, where now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (which may be interpreted the *Stayer*) there they rallied their Forces, and repuls'd the *Sabins* even to the Place call'd now *Rhugia*, and the Temple of *Vesta* ; where both Parties preparing to renew the Fight, were prevented by a strange and unexpressible sight: for the Daughters of the *Sabins*

Sabins which were formerly stolen, came running in great confusion, Some on this side, Some on That, with miserable Cries and Lamentations, like distracted Creatures, into the midst of the Army, and among the dead Bodies, to come at their Husbands, and at their Fathers: Some with their young Babes in their Arms, Others with their Hair loose about their Ears, but All calling now upon the *Sabins*, now upon the *Romans*, in the most tender and endearing Words. Hereupon Both melted into compassion, and fell back, that they might make room for them betwixt the Armies. Now did a strange lamentation seize all, and great grief was conceiv'd at the sight of the Women, and at their Speech much more, which from Expostulations and high Words ended in Entreaties and Supplications.

Wherein (say they) have we injur'd or offended you, that we formerly have, and now do suffer under these Calamities? We were ravish'd away unjustly and violently by Those whose now we are; but when That was done, we were so long neglected by our Fathers, our Brethren, and Relations, that Time, having now by the strictest bands united us to Those whom we once mortally hated, has brought it about, that the very Men, who once used violence to us, we now have a tendernefs for in War, and lament their deaths. So that you do not now come to vindicate our Honour, as Virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away Wives from their Husbands, and Mothers from their Children; making this your Assistance to rescue us, more grievous to us Wretches, than your former betraying and neglect of us was; such is their Love towards us, and such your Compassion: if you make War upon any other Occasion, yet even for our sakes you ought to desist, since you are our Fathers, our Grandfathers, our Relations and Kindred: But if this War be for us, take Us and your Sons-in-law, and restore us to our Parents and Kinsfolk, but do not rob

us

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(we beseech you) of our Children and Husbands, lest we again become Captives. *Herfilia* having spoken much to this purpose, and others earnestly making the same request, a Truce was made, and the chief Officers came to a Treaty: the Women, during that time, brought and presented their Husbands and Children to their Fathers and Brethren, and gave Those that would eat, Meat and Drink; and carried the Wounded home to be cured; and shewed also how much they govern'd within doors, and how indulgent their Husbands were to 'em, in demeaning themselves towards 'em with all kindness and respect imaginable. Upon this, Conditions were agreed upon, that what Women pleas'd might stay with Those that had them (as 'tis said) exempt from all drudgery and labour but Spinning; that the *Romans* and *Sabins* should inhabit the City promiscuously together; that the City should be call'd *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the *Romans* (1) *Quirites*, from *Cures* the Capital of the *Sabins*, and the Country of *Tatius*; and that they Both should govern and command the Army in common: The Place of this Ratification is still call'd *Comitium*, from *Coire* to agree. The City being thus doubled in number, an hundred of the *Sabins* were elected *Senators*, and the Legions were increas'd to 6000 Foot, and 600 Horse(2): then they divided

(1) That every Citizen particularly mention'd should be called Roman, but the whole Body of the People *Quirites*, saith *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*; but This is contradicted by the Form antiently used in the Publication of Interments, where it was declared *Ollus Quiris letho datus est*, from whence it appears that every Citizen in particular was called *Quiris*. *Plutarch* therefore was in the right

not to follow upon this Occasion *Dionysius's* Tradition.

(2) *Rualdus* in his *Animadversions* upon *Plutarch*, has discover'd two manifest Errors in this Place. *Plutarch* assures us that *Romulus* incorporated 600 Horse in every Legion, whereas there never were at any time so many in any of the Legions. There were at first no more than 200 Horse in each Legion; after that they rose to three,

vided the People into three Tribes; the first, from *Romulus*, were named *Rhamenses*; the second, from *Tatius*, *Tatienses*; the third were call'd *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* (for so they call a Grove) where the *Asylum* stood, whither many fled for Sanctuary, and were received into the City. And that they were just three, the very Name of *Tribe* and *Tribune* (i. e. Chief of the Tribe) does testify; each *Tribe* contained then ten *Curiae* or *Wards*, which, some say, took their Names from the *Sabine* Women; but That seems to be false, because Many had their Names from the different Regions which were assigned to them. Tho', 'tis true, they then constituted many things in honour to the Women: As to give them the Way where-ever they met them; to speak no indecent Word in their Presence; nor to appear naked before them; that they should not be summon'd (1) into Court before a Judge sitting on Cases of Blood; that their Children should wear an Ornament about their Necks call'd the *Bulla*, (because it was like a Bubble) and the *Prætexta*, a Garment edged with Purple.

The two Princes did not immediately join in Council together, but at first each met with his own Hundred, afterwards All assembled together. *Tatius*

and at last to 400, but never came up to 600. In the second place he tells us that *Romulus* made the Legion to consist of 6000 Foot, which was never done in his time. It is said by Some that *Marius* was the first that rais'd the Legion to that Number, whereas *Livy* gives us to understand that that Augmentation was made by *Scipio Africanus* long before *Marius*. In *Romulus* his time a Legion never muster'd more than 3000 Foot.

After the Expulsion of the Kings it was augmented to 4000, some time afterwards to 5000, and at last to 6000 by *Scipio*; but This was never done but upon pressing Occasions. The stated Force of a Legion was 4000 Foot, and 200 Horse.

(1) If one of these *Sabine* Women had committed a Murder she was not to be tryed for it by the ordinary Judge, but by a Committee of the Senate.

dwelt

• ὁ
βαθμὸς
καλῆς
ἀπακρίσεως.

dwelt where now the Temple of (1) *Moneta* stands; and *Romulus* close by the * *Steps*, as they call them, of the fair *Shore*, near the descent from the *Mount Palatine* to the *Circus Maximus*. There, they say, grew the *Holy-Cornel-Tree*, of which they report, that *Romulus* once to try his strength, threw a Dart from the *Aventine Mount*, (the Staff of which was made of *Cornel*) the Head of it struck so deep into the Ground, that no one, of Many that tried, could pluck it up: Now the Soil, being fertil, soon covered the Wood, so that it sent forth Branches, and produced a Trunk of *Cornel* of considerable bigness. This did Posterity preserve and worship as one of the most Sacred things, and therefore wall'd it about; and if to any one it appear'd not green nor flourishing, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently made outcry to all he met, and they with one accord cried for Water, as in a Fire, and would run from all Parts with Buckets full to the place. But, they say, when *Caius Caesar* was repairing those *Steps*, some of the Labourers digging too close about it, by mischance the Root corrupted, and the Tree withered.

The *Sabins* received the use of *Roman Months*: of which, whatever is remarkable, is mention'd in the Life of *Numa*. *Romulus* again took up their manner of Shields, for which he exchanged both his own and all the *Romans'* Armour, who before wore small Targets after the manner of the *Argives*. But for Feasts and Sacrifices, they partaked of them in common, not abolishing any which either Nation observ'd before, and instituting se-

(1) *Moneta*, that is, *Juno*. *Juno* | *Palatine*, and *Quirinal*, and *Romulus*
Moneta, *Juno* the Advertiser. *Tatius* | of the Mounts *Palatine*, and *Ca-*
 was posselt of the Mounts *Cap-* | *linus*.

veral new ones : Of which one was the (1) *Matronalia*, instituted in Honour of the Women, for their putting an end to the War; as likewise the (2) *Carmentalia*. Now *Carmenta*, Some think a *Destiny* presiding over the Generation of Men, wherefore Mothers much revere and worship her. Others say, she was the Wife of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, being a Prophetess, and wont to deliver her Oracles in Verse; and from *Carmen* a Verse was call'd *Carmenta*, whereas it is generally confess'd her proper Name was *Nicostrata*. Others more probably derive *Carmenta* from *Carens mente*, as being bereft of her Wits, by reason of her wild Enthusiasms. Of the Feast of *Palilia*, we have spoke before. The *Lupercalia*, by the time of its Celebration, may seem to be a Feast of *Purification*, for it is solemniz'd on the *Dies nefasti*, or *non-Court days* of the month *February*, which a Man may interpret *Purifying*; and the very day of the Feast was antiently call'd *Februata*: But the Name of it originally signifies as much as the Feast of Wolves; in *Greek* λυναία; and it seems upon this account to be of great Antiquity, and brought in by the *Arcadians* who came with *Evander*. But this is still ambiguous, for it may come as well from the She-Wolf that nursed *Romulus*; and we see the *Luperci* [the Priests who run about the City on that day] do begin their Course from the place where they say *Romulus* was exposed. But the Ceremonies that then pass, render the Original of the thing more difficult to be guess'd at; for there are Goats kill'd, then two Noblemen's

(1) The Feast of the *Roman* Matrons celebrated on the first of *April*, at which time they offer'd a Sacrifice to *Mars* and *Juno*, and receiv'd Presents from their Friends. Festival kept on the 11th of *January* under the Capitol near the Carmental Gate. They begg'd of this Goddess to render their Women fertile, and give them happy Deliveries.

(2) This was a very solemn

Sons being brought, some are to stain their Foreheads with the bloody Knife, others presently to wipe it off with Wool dipt in Milk; then the young Boys must laugh heartily after their Foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the Goats skins into Thongs, they run about naked, only with something about their Middle, lashing all they meet; the young Wives, instead of avoiding, desire to receive their strokes, fancying it helps Conception and Child-birth. Another thing is proper to this Feast, that is, for the *Luperci* to sacrifice a Dog. *Butas*, a certain Poet, who writ a fabulous account of the *Roman* Customs in Elegies, says, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, after the Conquest of *Amulius*, ran joyfully to the Place where the Wolf gave them Suck, and that in imitation of that, this Feast was kept, and that two young Noblemen ran, striking at All that were in their way,

————— *As when from Alba's Town,
Romulus and Remus with their Swords did run:*

And that the bloody Knife applied to their Foreheads, was a sign of the danger they were then in of being slain; and the cleansing of them in Milk, was in remembrance of their Food and Nourishment. But *Caius* (1) *Acilius* writes, that before the City was built, the Cattle of *Romulus* and *Remus* One day going astray, they, praying to the God, *Faunus*, ran about to seek them naked, that they might not be troubled with Sweat, and that for that Reason the *Luperci* run naked. And if this Sacrifice be by way of Purification, a Man might guess they used a Dog for that very purpose; for

(1) *Caius Acilius Glabrio* was Tribune of the People in the Year 556. He wrote in Greek, and is quoted both by *Cicero*, and *Livy*. | The Last of whom saith that his Annals were translated into Latin by *Claudius*.

the *Gracians* in their Lustrations, or Sacrifices of Purging, do carry out Dogs, and make very great use of that Ceremony (1) they call, *περισκυλακισμός*, or a Sacrificing of a Dog. But if they perform This as a Festival of Gratitude to the Wolf for Nourishing and Preserving *Romulus*, they do not absurdly in killing a Dog, as being an Enemy to Wolves; unless it is perhaps to punish the creature for molesting the *Luperci* when they run about.

They say too, *Romulus* was the First that consecrated Holy Fire, and instituted Holy Virgins, call'd *Vestals*; Others ascribe it to *Numa Pompilius*: nevertheless they write, that *Romulus* was otherwise eminently Religious, and well-skill'd in the Art of Divination, and for that Reason had a *Litnus* always in his Hand, which is a crooked Rod, wherewith the Soothsayers describe the Quarters of the Heavens, when they sit to observe the flight of Birds. This of His, being kept in the *Palatium*, was lost when the City was taken by the *Gauls*; and afterwards, that barbarous People being driven out, was found in the Ruins under a great heap of Ashes, untouch'd by the Fire, all things about it being consumed and burnt. He constituted also certain Laws, one whereof is somewhat severe, which (2) suffers not

(1) Among other Offerings of Purification they offer'd little Dogs to *Proserpine*, which they carry'd round Those that wanted to be purified.

(2) I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Law of *Romulus*. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith on the contrary, that *Romulus* render'd the marry'd State Holy, and indissoluble by *Confarreatio*, that is by the Participation of Barly, which had been the

common Food of Men in the first Ages of the World. It is true that when a Woman was found guilty of any notorious Crime; such as Adultery or Drunkenness, the Husband was at Liberty to punish her, but it was to be with the Privy and Consent of her Parents or Relations, who had a Right to take Cognizance of the Fact in Conjunction with him. The Law of Divorce was by no means establish'd by *Romulus*, on the

* *Χειρὸς*
Θεῶν.

a Wife to leave her Husband, but grants a Husband to turn off his Wife, either upon poisoning her Children, or (1) counterfeiting his Keys, or Adultery; but if the Husband upon any other occasion put her away, he ordered one moiety of his Estate to be given to the Wife, the other devoted to the Goddess *Ceres*; and who-ever did cast off his Wife, (2) to make an Atonement by Sacrifice to the * *Infernal Gods*. This too is observable as a singular thing in *Romulus*, that he appointed no Punishment for real Parricide, but call'd all Murder Parricide, thinking the One detestable, but the Other impossible; and for a long time he seem'd to have rightly thought such a Wickedness could never be; for in almost 600 Years together no Body committed the like in *Rome*; and *Lucius Osius*, after the Wars of *Hannibal*, is recorded to have been the first Parricide. But let thus much suffice concerning these Matters.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of *Tatius*, some of his Friends and Kinsmen meeting (3) Ambassadors

the contrary it is certain that among the *Romans* the Wife was intitled to the same Privileges with her Husband, and the Law which *Plutarch* thinks somewhat severe was the Law of God given to his own People by *Moses*. The Wife had no Power to divorce her Husband, but the Husband cou'd divorce his Wife; and this Law is conformable to natural Right, for the Wife is by nature submitted to the Authority of her Husband, and not the Husband to That of his Wife.

(1) *Κλειδῶν ὑποβολή*, which *Crusius* renders *subdito partu*, &c. supposing a Child. If it be

taken for *Counterfeiting of Keys*, it may possibly refer to what *Plutarch* mentions from *Fabius Pictor*, about picking the Lock of a Cellar, it being death for a married Woman to drink Wine in the time of *Romulus*, *Plin. lib. 14. c. 13.*

(2) Or, to be himself devoted, as *Mr. Dacier* translates it; and according to the *Roman Custom* Persons so devoted might be lawfully killed by any one, according to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* though he does not mention this Law of *Romulus*.

(3) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith that they were Ambassadors from *Latium* who had been at *Rome*

dors coming from *Laurentum* to *Rome*, attempted on the Road to take away their Money by force ; which they not suffering, but defending themselves, they kill'd them. So great a Villany being acted, *Romulus* thought it fitting presently to punish the Malefactors ; but *Tatius* shuffled it off and let them escape : and this only thing was the first beginning of an open Quarrel betwixt them, for otherwise they carried themselves fairly one to another, and administred Affairs together with the greatest Unanimity. The Relations of Them that were slain, being debar'd of Justice by reason of *Tatius*, fell upon him as he was (1) sacrificing with *Romulus* at *Lavinium*, and slew him, but honourably attended *Romulus* back, highly commending him for a just Prince. *Romulus* took the Body of *Tatius*, and buried it very splendidly in the *Aventine Mount*, near the place call'd (2) *Armilustrum*, but altogether neglected revenging his Murder. Some Historians write, that the City of *Laurentum*, fearing the consequence, deliver'd up the Murderers of *Tatius* ; but *Romulus* pass'd it over, saying, One Murder was requited with Another. This gave occasion of Talk and Jealousy, as if he were well pleas'd at the removal of his Copartner in the Government. Nothing of these things either di-

Rome to complain of the Incur-
sions made by some of *Tatius* his
Friends upon their Territories,
and that as they were returning
the *Sabins* lay in wait for them
on the Road, strip'd them, and
killed several of them. *Lavinium*
and *Laurentum* were two Towns
near each other, between *Ostia*
and *Antium*.

(1) This Sacrifice the Kings of
Rome were obliged to go once a
Year to perform to the Gods of
the Country for the safety of their

City: *Licinius* writes that *Tatius*
went not thither with *Romulus*,
nor on Account of the Sacrifice,
but that he went alone to per-
suade the Inhabitants to pardon
the Murderers.

(2) It was so call'd because the
Troops assembled there once a
Year under Arms in order to be
purify'd. The Feast, which was
held on the 19th of *October*, the
Sacrifice, and the Place where it
was perform'd, were all call'd *Ar-
milustrum*.

sturbed or raised any Feud among the *Sabins*; but
 Some out of love to him, Others out of fear of his
 Power, Some again reverencing him as a God, they
 All lived peacefully in admiration and awe of him.
 Many foreign Nations too did much admire *Romulus*; the antient *Latins* sent, and enter'd into
 League and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ* he
 took, a neighbouring City to *Rome*, by a Party of
 Horse, as Some say, whom he sent before with
 Commands to cut off the Hinges of the Gates,
 and he himself afterwards unexpectedly came upon
 them. Others say, They having first made the In-
 vasion in foraging and spoiling the Country and
 Suburbs, *Romulus* lay in Ambush for them, and so
 having kill'd many of their Men, took the City;
 nevertheless he did not raze or demolish it, but
 made it a *Roman* Colony, and sent thither on the
 Ides of *April* 2500 Inhabitants. Presently after a
 Plague broke out, which kill'd suddenly without
 any manner of Sickness; it infected also the Corn
 with Unfruitfulness, and Cattle with Barrenness:
 there rained Blood too in the City, insomuch as
 besides the Evils which came of consequence, Men
 dreaded the Wrath of the Gods. But especially
 when the same Mischiefs fell upon *Laurentum* also,
 then every Body judg'd it was Divine Vengeance
 that fell upon both Cities, for the neglect of exe-
 cuting Justice upon the Murder of *Tatius* and the
 Ambassadors. But the Murderers on both sides
 being deliver'd up and punish'd, the Calamities
 visibly abated, and *Romulus* purified the Cities with
 Lustrations, which they say, are even to this time
 perform'd at the Gate call'd *Ferentina*. But before
 the Plague ceased, the *Camerians* invaded the *Ro-*
mans, and over-ran the Country, thinking, by rea-
 son of the Distemper, they were unable to with-
 stand them; but *Romulus* presently made Head a-
 gainst them, and gain'd the Victory, with the
 slaughter

slaughter of 6000 Men : he then took their City, and brought half, of Those he found there, to *Rome*, and sent from *Rome* to *Cameria* double the number he left there. This was done the first of *August*. So many Citizens had he to spare, in 16 years time after he first inhabited *Rome*. Among other Spoils he took a brazen Chariot from *Cameria*, which he placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adding (1) thereon his own Statue crown'd by Victory.

The *Roman* Cause thus daily gathering strength, the weaker Neighbours submitted, and willingly embrac'd security ; the stronger, out of Fear or Envy, thought they ought not to make light of *Romulus*, but to curb him, and put a stop to his growing Greatness. The first were the *Veientes*, a People of *Tuscany*, who possess a large tract of Land, and dwelt in a spacious City ; they took an occasion to commence a War, by redemanding of *Fidenæ*, as belonging to them. This was not only unreasonable, but very ridiculous, that they, who did not assist them in the greatest Extremities of War, but permitted the Men to be destroyed, should now challenge their Lands and Houses, when in the hands of Others. So being scornfully retorted upon by *Romulus* in his Answers, they divided themselves into two Bodies : with One they attack'd the Garrison of *Fidenæ* ; with the Other they march'd against *Romulus* ; That which went against *Fidenæ*, got the Victory, and slew 2000 *Romans* ;

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith that he added his own Statue, on which was an Inscription in *Greek* containing an Account of all his Exploits, but he makes no mention of the Victory ; and I very much question the Inscription ; for, as I had Occasion to observe before, they did not, till many Years after *Romulus*, begin to make Inscriptions on their

Statues, and when they did they only express the Name and Dignity of Those in Honour of whom those Statues were erected, and I am of Opinion that for more than 600 Years together there was no Statue to be seen at *Rome* with those long and pompous Inscriptions, which were afterwards invented by the Vanity of succeeding Generations.

The LIFE of

the Other was worsted by *Romulus*, with the loss of 8000 Men. They afterwards fought again near *Fidene*, and all Men acknowledge the greatest Actions of the day were done by *Romulus* himself, who shewed all manner of Skill as well as Courage, and seem'd to perform with strength and swiftness more than human. But what Some write, that of 14000 who fell that day, above (1) half were slain by *Romulus*'s own hand, is very like a fable, or rather utterly incredible: since even the *Messenians* are thought to stretch too far in their brags of *Aristomenes*, who, they say, offer'd 300 Victims for as many *Lacedemonians* as he himself had slain. The Army (of the *Veientes*) being thus routed, *Romulus*, suffering Those that were left to make their escape, drew up his Forces against their City. They, having suffer'd so great a defeat, did not venture to oppose him, but humbly suing to him, contracted a League and Friendship for 100 years: yielding up to him a great quantity of their Lands, call'd *Septimagium*, (which is the 7th part of their Patrimony,) as also parting with several Salt-springs upon the River; and delivering into his hands fifty of their chief men for Hostages. He made his Triumph for This on the *Ides* of *October*, leading, among the rest of his many Captives, the General of the *Veientes*, an antient Man, but One who seem'd to have managed his Affairs imprudently, and unbecoming his Age; whence even now in their Sacrifices for Victory, they lead an Old Man through the Market-place to the *Capitol*, apparell'd in Purple, with a *Bulla* or Child's Toy tied to it,

(1) The Historians here meant by *Plutarch* had literally taken what they found in their Songs of Triumph, where we may be sure they were not sparing in their Hyperboles. Thus the

Israelitish Women when they came out to meet *David* on his Return from the Slaughter of the *Philistins* had it in their Song, *Saul has slain his Thousands, and David his Ten Thousands.*

and

and the Crier cries, (1) *Sardians* to be sold; for the *Tuscans* are said to be a Colony of the *Sardians*, and the *Veientes* are a City of *Tuscany*.

This was the last Battle *Romulus* ever fought; afterwards he did, as most, nay all Men, very few excepted, do, who are raised by great and miraculous good-haps of Fortune to Power and Greatness: So, I say, did He; for relying upon his own great Actions, and growing of an haughtier Mind, he forsook his popular Behaviour, and took upon him in exchange the state of an Absolute Monarch, which was odious and intolerable to the People. And first, upon the Habit he chose to wear; for he dress'd in Scarlet with a Purple Robe over it; then he gave Audience in a Chair of State, having always about him (2) some young Men call'd * *Celeres*, from their Swiftness in doing business: * *Celer*, there went before him Others with Staves to make swift room for him, having several Cords (or thongs of Leather) in readiness, to bind whom ever he commanded. Now the *Latins* formerly used *ligare*, as now *alligare*, to bind, whence these Serjeants were call'd *Lictores*, and the Rods they carried were called *Fasces*; but it is probable they were first call'd *Litores*, afterwards by putting in a C,

(1) *Plutarch* in his *Roman Questions* on the same occasion gives us the same Account of the Original of this Custom; but he is mistaken, for the *Tuscans* were by no means of *Lydian* Descent, as we have prov'd elsewhere. *Sinius Capito* was better inform'd when he said that this Custom began after the Consul *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* had conquer'd *Sardinia*, from whence he brought such a Multitude of Slaves, that for a long time together one saw no Slaves expos'd to Sale in the

Market but *Sardians*, which gave Occasion to the Proverb, *Sardians to be sold, all Rogues alike*; and this Proverb was afterwards apply'd to all sorts of Prisoners that were brought to *Rome* in Triumph.

(2) He had form'd three Companies of three Hundred of the most valiant Men in his Army, who were his Body Guard, and fought always near his Person, some Horse, and some Foot, like the Life-Guards of the Kings of

Lictores, for they are the same the *Grecians* call *λειτουργοί* (or Officers for the People) and the *Grecians* do still call the People in general, *λαῖον*, and the common People *λαός*.

When after the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor* in *Alba*, that Kingdom devolv'd upon *Romulus*, he put the Government into the Hands of Magistrates in Common, to please the Populace, and elected yearly a particular Magistrate to superintend the *Sabins*. (1) But by so dangerous an Example he taught the Great Men of *Rome* likewise to seek after a Free and Anti-monarchical State, wherein All might share by turns in the Rule and Government: For the *Patricians* (as they call them) were not now concern'd in State-Affairs, only had the Name and Title of Honour left them, convening in Council rather for Fashion-sake than Advice; where they in silence heard the King's Commands, and so departed, exceeding the Commonalty only in This, that they heard first what was done. These and the like were Matters of small moment; but when he of his own accord parted among his Soldiers what Lands were acquired by War, and restored the *Veientes* their Hostages, (2) without either the Consent or Approbation of the *Senate*, then indeed he seem'd to put a great Affront upon them; whereupon, when he suddenly disappeared

(1) That is, the Example of the *Albans*, and even in *Rome* it self That of the *Sabins*, who were govern'd but by one Magistrate who was changed every Year. This open'd the Eyes of the *Romans*, and adding Weight to all their other Grievances they in the end resolv'd to get rid of their Prince. The *Albans* were at that time the only People without a King at their Head, which cou'd not but be a dangerous Example for a Mo-

narchy that was yet in its Infancy. But what was worse, even in *Rome* itself under their own Eyes they saw a People govern'd by a Magistrate of their Own, independant of the Prince.

(2) To This *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* adds that he likewise render'd himself insupportable by his Cruelty, having condemn'd several of the most considerable among the *Romans* to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock.

a short while after, the Senate fell under shrewd Suspicions and Calumnies. He disappear'd on the *Nones* of *July*, as they now call the Month, which was then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of Certainty to be related of his Death, only the Time.

(1) For there are now upon that Day many Ceremonies perform'd in resemblance of that Misfortune. Neither is this Uncertainty to be thought strange, seeing the manner of the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, who died at his own home after Supper, is neither much credited nor disprov'd: for, Some say, he died easily and suddenly, as it were of his own accord, being naturally a sickly Man;

(2) Others, that he poison'd himself; Others again, that his Enemies breaking in upon him in the Night, stifled him. *Scipio* too when he was dead, lay open to be seen of All, and indeed his Body gave some Suspicion, and means of discovering the Fact; but of *Romulus*, when he vanish'd, was neither the least part of his Body, or rag of his Clothes to be seen: So that Some fancied, the Senators having fallen upon him, cut his Body into pieces, and each took a part away in his Bosom; Others think, his Disappearance was neither in the Temple of *Vulcan*, nor with the Senators only by; but that it happen'd, as he was haranguing the People without the City, near a Place call'd the * *Goats-Marsh*; and that on the sudden most won-

* *Αἴγες*
ἔλος.

(1) The Romans in their Calendar call that day *Populifugium*, the Flight of the People, *Nona Caprotina*, the Caprotine Nones, & *festum Ancillarum*, the Feast of the Servant Maids, which three Things particularly relate to that Accident, as will be observ'd in its place.

(2) His Wife *Sempronia*, Sister of the *Gracchi*, whose Designs were constantly, and with great

Zeal, oppos'd by him, was suspected to have poison'd him. However it was no Inquiry was ever made into the Circumstances of his Death, which gave Occasion to this Passage in *Valerius Maximus*, *Raptorem Spiritus domi invenit, Mortis Punirem in Foro non reperit.* He met his Murderer in his own House, but found no one in the Court of Judicature to prosecute the Murderer.

derful

derful Disorders and Alterations beyond Expression or Belief arose in the Air; for the Face of (1) the Sun was darkened, and the Day was turn'd into an unquiet and turbulent Night, made up of terrible Thunderings and boisterous Winds, raising Tempests from all Quarters, which scattered the Rabble and made them fly, but the Senators kept close together. The Tempest being over, and the Light breaking out, when the People gather'd again, they miss'd and enquir'd for their King; but the Senators would not let them search, or busy themselves about the Matter, but commanded them to honour and worship *Romulus*, as One taken up to the Gods, and who, after having been a good Prince, was now to be to Them a propitious Deity. (2) The Multitude hearing This, went away rejoicing and worshipping him, in hopes of good things from him: But there were Some who canvassing the Matter more severely and rigorously, accus'd and aspers'd the *Patricians*, as Men that persuaded the People to believe ridiculous Tales,

(1) The Ancients tell us that *Romulus* after a Reign of 37 Years died whilst the Sun was under a very great Eclipse: Thus Tully in his Fragments, lib. 6. de Repub. *Namque ut olim deficere Sol, hominibusque extingui visus est, cum Romuli animus hac ipsa Templa penetravit.* For as heretofore the Sun was seen to languish, and even to be extinguish'd whilst *Romulus* his Soul was penetrating into this very Temple. The Truth is, it appears from the Astronomical Tables that there was an Eclipse of the Sun towards the End of the first Year of the 16th Olympiad, on the 16th of May, which considering the little Exactness there was then in the Ro-

man Calender, might very well coincide with the Month of July. But then how are we to make This agree with the Feast the Romans observ'd annually for the Death of *Romulus*, which was celebrated about the middle of February. It is very likely the Romans were as much in the dark as to the time when *Romulus* died, as when he laid the Foundation of Rome.

(2) This is a true Picture of the Populace. They will in an Instant fall adoring Him as a God, whom the Moment before they wou'd not allow to be their Governour, nay, nor so much as their Neighbour.

when

when They themselves were the Murderers of the King. Things being in this Disorder, one, they say, of the *Patricians*, of a noble Family, and most approved Conversation, and withal (1) a most faithful and familiar Friend of *Romulus* himself, who came with him from *Alba*, *Julius Proculus* by Name, stepping into the Company, and taking an Oath by all that was most sacred, protested before them All, that *Romulus* appear'd to, and met him travelling on the Road, comelier and fairer than ever, dress'd in shining and flaming Armour; and he being affrighted at the Apparition, said, *Upon what Occasion or Resentments, O King, did you leave us here, liable to most unjust and wicked Surmises, and the whole City destitute, in most bitter Sorrow?* And that He made Answer: *It pleas'd the Gods, O Proculus, that after we had remain'd a reasonable time among Men, and built a City the greatest in the World both in Empire and Glory, We shou'd again return to Heaven* (2) *from whence We came. But be of good Heart, and let the Romans know that by the Exercise of Temperance and Fortitude, they shall arrive to the highest pitch of Human Power, and We will be to you the propitious God Quirinus.* This seem'd very credible to the *Romans*, both upon the Honesty and Oath of Him that spoke it; and a certain Divine Passion, (3) like an Enthusiasm, seized

(1) These Circumstances were highly necessary to make what he had to depose easy to be believ'd: His Character of Honesty made his Testimony credible, and his Friendship to *Romulus* made 'em conclude it was more likely for him to appear to Him than any Other. Here now is a Man of Probity who thinks he may be permitted to forswear himself for the Good of his Country.

(2) Here ought to come in the two words *ἐκείθεν ὅρα*, which the Negligence of some Copists have placed a Line higher. This Error has been very judiciously corrected by a Manuscript which I have follow'd. Such Transpositions are frequently to be met with in antient Authors.

(3) Such sort of Enthusiasms are very frequent in popular Assemblies. But This has something particular in it; for the
Romans

seized on all Men, for no Body contradicted it: but laying aside all Jealousies and Detractions, they prayed to *Quirinus*, and saluted him God.

This is like some of the *Grecian* Fables related of (1) *Aristeas* the *Proconnesian*, and *Cleomedes* the *Astypalean*: for, they say, *Aristeas* died in a Fuller's Work-house, and, his Friends coming to look after him, his Body vanish'd; and that Some presently after coming in from a Journey, said (2) they met him travelling on the Road towards *Croton*. Of *Cleomedes* it is said, that being (3) an extraordinary strong and gigantick Man, and withal of a furious disposition and mad, he committed many desperate Freaks. At last in a certain School-house, striking a Pillar that sustain'd the Roof with his Fist, he broke it in the middle, so the House fell and destroyed the Children in it; and being pursued, he fled into a great Chest, and shutting the Lid to him, held it so fast, that many Men with all their strength could not force it open: afterwards break-

Romans receiv'd the same Benefit from a Forgery, as they cou'd have done had it been never so true. For had *Romulus* been a God indeed, what cou'd he have done more than preserve the State, and raise the Spirit of Peace and Union out of so general a Division, and terrible Disorder?

(1) This *Aristeas* was an Historian, Poet, and notorious Cheat. He wrote the History of the *Arimaspa*, or *Scythians*, in *Hexameter* Verse, if it be true that that Work is His, as *Dionysius* much questions. He pretended that he cou'd make his Soul leave his Body whenever he pleas'd, and that it wou'd return again. He was Cotemporary with *Craesus*. We have this Story of him at large in the fourth Book of *Herodotus*.

(2) A Man of *Artacia* near *Cyzicus* affirm'd, that he met *Aristeas* on the Road to *Cyzicus*, and spoke to him. *Plutarch* has confounded This with another Adventure of the same *Aristeas* at *Metapontum*, which *Herodotus* relates immediately after the former.

(3) We find this Story related with all its Circumstances in the fourth Book of *Pausanias*. He saith that as *Cleomedes* in the 7th Olympiad was wrestling with a Man of *Epidaurus* call'd *Iccus* he slew him; and that the Judges offended at the Barbarity of the Action refus'd him the Prize, whereupon he went home in the Bitterness of Heart, and lost his Senses.

ing

ing the Chest to pieces, they found no Man in it alive or dead, at which being astonish'd, they sent to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, to whom the Prophets made this Answer :

(1) *Of all the Heroes, Cleomede is last.*

They say too, the Body of *Alcmena*, as they were carrying it to her Grave, vanish'd, and a Stone was found lying on the Bier ; and many such Improbabilities do your fabulous Writers relate, deifying Creatures naturally mortal. Indeed, altogether to disown the Divine Power of * *Virtue* is a profane * i. e. of virtuous Souls. and disingenuous thing : but to confound Earth with Heaven is as stupidly ridiculous : therefore we must reject such Vanities, being assur'd that, according to *Pindar*,

*All human Bodies yield to Death's Decree,
The Soul survives to all Eternity.*

For That alone is deriv'd from the Gods, Thence it comes, and Thither it returns ; not with the Body, but when it is most free and separated from it, and is altogether pure and clean, and disengag'd from the flesh : for *the dry Soul* (as *Heraclitus* phrases it) *is best*, which flies out of the Body, as Lightning breaks from a Cloud ; but That which is immerfed in Body and gorg'd with it, is like a gross and cloudy Vapour, hard to be kindled, and mounting with Difficulty. We must not therefore, contrary to Nature, send the Bodies with the Souls of good Men to Heaven ; but again we must really believe that, according to a Divine Nature and Justice,

(1) *Plutarch* only mentions *ceased to be Mortal*. A fine Heroe the first Verse in the Answer, the they have made of a Madman, Priestess added *Honour him with* and one that had murder'd such your *Sacrifices as one that has* a Number of Children.

their virtuous Souls are translated (1) out of Men into Heroes; out of Heroes into Demi-Gods; out of Demi-Gods, (if they are, as by expiation, perfectly purged and sanctified, and disburden'd of all Passions attending Mortality) in that Case they are, not by any political institution, but really according to right Reason, chang'd and translated into Gods, receiving the greatest and most blessed Perfection.

Romulus his surname *Quirinus*, Some say, signifies as much as *Mars* or *Warlike*; Others, that he was so call'd because the Citizens were call'd *Quirites*; Others, because the Ancients call'd a Javelin or Spear *Quiris*; for the Image of *Juno* placed on a Spear was call'd the Image of *Juno Quiritis*, and the Javelin in the King's Palace was call'd *Mars*: and Those that behav'd themselves valiantly in War, were usually presented with a Spear, and that therefore *Romulus* being a *Martial* God, or a † God of War, was call'd *Quirinus*; and there is † a Temple built to his Honour on the Mount, call'd from him *Quirinalis*.

The day on which he vanish'd is call'd the *Flight of the Rabble*, and *Nonæ Capratinæ*, or the * *Nones of the Goats*, because they go then out of the City, and sacrifice at the *Goats-Marsh* (i. e. *Caprea palus*, for they call a Goat *Caprea*;) and as they go, they call out loudly upon the Names of some of their Compatriots, as *Marcellus* and *Gaius*, imitating how they then fled, and call'd upon one another in that Fright and Hurry. Some say, This was not

(1) *Hesiod* was the first who distinguish'd those four Natures, Men, Heroes, Demi Gods, and Gods; from whence the Philosophers imagined this Gradation, or if I may so say this Refining of Souls. After Death they become Heroes; from Heroes after certain Revolutions they become Demi-

Gods, or *Genii*; and They that had led a strict holy Life whilst in the Body, from *Genii* became real Gods after they had perfectly purified themselves by Virtue; and till they had attain'd to this last Perfection they were liable to be replunged into their primitive State of Darkness.

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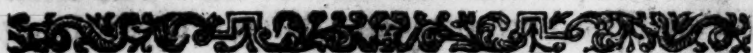
† αἰχμη-
τὸν θεόν:

* Νόναι
Καπράτι-
ναι.

in imitation of a Flight, but of a quick and hasty Onset; giving this account of it. After the *Gauls*, who had taken *Rome*, were driven out by *Camillus*, and the City had not as yet recover'd her Strength; many of the *Latins*, under the Command of *Livius Posthumus*, took this time to march against her. This Army sitting down before *Rome*, an Herald was sent, signifying that the *Latins* were desirous to renew their former Alliance and Affinity (that was now almost decayed) by contracting new Marriages between both Nations; if therefore they would send forth a good number of their Virgins and Widows, they should settle into a Peace and Friendship, as they formerly did with the *Sabins* upon the like Conditions. The *Romans* hearing This, both dreaded a War, and yet thought a Surrender of their Women little better than a mere Captivity. Being in this doubt, a Servant-Maid, call'd *Philotis* (or as Some say, *Tutola*) advis'd them to do Neither, but rather, by a Stratagem, both to avoid fighting, and the giving up of such Pledges. The Stratagem was This, that they should send Her, with a Company of handsom Servant-wenches, well dress'd to the Enemy, instead of Freeborn Virgins; and she would in the Night light up a Torch, at which the *Romans* should come arm'd and surprize the Enemy asleep. The *Latins* were thus deceiv'd, and accordingly *Philotis* set up a Torch in a wild *Fig-tree*, skreening it behind with Curtains and Coverlets from the sight of the Enemy; but it was plain to the *Romans*: And when they saw it, they ran furiously together out of the Gates, hastning one another what they could; so falling in unexpectedly upon the Enemy, they defeated them. Upon that they made a Feast of Triumph, call'd the *Nones of the Goats*, because of the wild *Fig-Tree*, call'd by the *Romans* *Caprificus*, or the *Goat-Fig*; and they feast the Women

The Comparison of

without the City in Arbors made of Fig-Tree Boughs, and the Servant-maids meet and run about playing: afterwards they fight in Sport, and throw Stones at one another, in memory of the Aid and Assistance they gave the *Romans* on that Occasion. This many Authors do not admit for true: For the calling upon one another's Names by Day, and the going out to the *Goats-Marsh*, as to a Sacrifice, seems to agree more to the former Relation; unless perhaps both the Actions, done at several times, might have happen'd on the same Day of the Week. Now, they say, it was in the fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and the thirty-eighth of his Reigo, that *Romulus* left the World.



The (1) Comparison of *Romulus* and *Theseus*.

THIS is all I ever happen'd to hear of *Romulus* and *Theseus*, worthy of Memory. First, *Theseus* seem'd, out of his own Free-will, without any Compulsion, when he might have reign'd in Security at *Træzene*, in the Enjoyment of no inglorious Empire, to have affected great Actions by himself. The Other, to escape present Servitude, and a Punishment that threatned him (according to *Plato*) grew valiant purely out of Fear, and dreading the extreamest Sufferings, attempted great Enterprises out of mere necessity. Again, the

(1) Of all *Plutarch's* Works I do not think any give him so great a Reputation as his Comparisons: For it must require a much greater Skill to be able to distinguish wherein those great Men agree, and wherein they differ, than to write their Actions. He weighs their Virtues and their Vices in so just a Balance, that One may affirm never Man has better taught us how to put a true Value upon things, so that the Profit that ariseth from the Reading of them is infinite.

greatest

greatest Action of *Romulus* was only the killing of one King of *Alba*; whereas the by-Adventures only and Preludes of *Theseus* were the Conquests of *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procrustes* and *Corynetes*; by reducing and killing of Whom, he ridded *Greece* of very violent Oppressors, before any of Them that were relieved knew who did it: and he might then without any trouble as well have gone to *Athens* by Sea, considering he himself never was in the least injured by those Robbers; whereas *Romulus* could not help being in Action whilst *Amulius* lived. A great Testimony of This is, that *Theseus*, for no wrong done to himself, but for the sake of Others, did fall upon these Villains; but *Romulus*, and *Remus*, as long as they themselves suffer'd no Ill by the Tyrant, permitted him to oppress all Others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in Battle by the *Sabins*, to have kill'd King *Acron*, and to have conquer'd many Enemies; we may oppose to these Actions, the Battle with the *Centaurs*, and the Feats done against the *Amazons*. But what *Theseus* adventur'd, in offering himself voluntarily with the other young Boys and Virgins, as part of the Tribute into *Crete*, either to be a Prey to a Monster, or a Victim upon the Tomb of *Androgeus*, or, what is least of all, to live vilely and dishonourably in Slavery to insulting and cruel Men; a Man cannot express what an Act of Boldness, or Courage, or Justice to the Publick, or of Honour and Bravery, that was. So that methinks the Philosophers (1) did not define Love ill, to be *the service of the Gods, in assisting and preserving Youth*; for the Love of *Ariadne*, a-

(1) This is taken from the Discourse of *Diotime* in *Plato's Banquet*, wherein She saith that Love is the most sure and effectual

Means the Gods have provided for Man, in order to enable him to attain essential Happiness, for Love unites us to the Deity.

bove all, seems to be the proper Work and Design of some God, in order to preserve *Theseus*: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder all Men and Women were not alike affected towards him; and if She alone were so, truly I dare (1) pronounce her worthy of the Love of a God, who was her self so great a Lover of Virtue and Goodness, and the bravest Man.

But Both these naturally affecting Government, Neither liv'd up to the true Character of a King, but flew off, and ran, One into Popularity, the Other into Tyranny, falling Both into the same fault out of different Passions: For a Prince's first Concern ought to be the Preservation of the Government it self, which is done no less by avoiding Indecencies, than by maintaining a Decorum in all things: Whoever is either too remiss or too strict in This, is no more a King or a Prince, but either too popular a Man, or too lordly, and so becomes either odious or contemptible to his Subjects. (2) This seems to be the Fault of Easiness and Good-nature, the Other of Pride and Severity:

(1) Here *Plutarch* alludes to the Idea of *Socrates*, who teacheth us that only the Love of real Virtue, and true Perfection, is capable of uniting us to God, who is Virtue, and Perfection itself; and This is true; but *Plutarch* has apply'd it improperly. He judges after too metaphysical a manner of *Ariadne's* Love to the Hero. Where will be the Virtue intended by *Socrates*, if that Name is to be ascribed to the Action of a Princess, who fell in Love with a Stranger the very first time she saw him, betray'd both her Father and her Country for his sake, and receiv'd him into her Arms polluted with the blood of her Brother *Dentalion*,

whom he had slain with his own Hands?

(2) He that of a King makes himself a Tyrant, is inhumane, and loves Himself better than Others, whom upon all Occasions he is ready to sacrifice to his Ambition; and that King, who instead of maintaining the Regal Authority, degenerates into a Republican, appears indeed to have strong Sentiments of Humanity, and to be a greater Lover of Others than of Himself, but at the same time he must be allow'd to be a weak Man, and to be the Occasion of as much Damage to his Subjects by his Weakness, as the Other is by his Inhumanity.

But

But (1) if we must not in all respects impute Misfortunes to the Fates, but consider in them the difference of Men's Manners and Passions, as the unreasonable and inconsiderate Effects of Wrath and Anger; a Man can neither excuse One in his Behaviour to his Brother, nor the Other to his Son. But that which first gave occasion to the Motion of this Passion renders Him more excusable who was transported by a stronger Cause, as by a more severe Stroke. (2) Thus *Romulus* having disagreed with his Brother, advisedly and deliberately upon the Concerns of the Publick, one would think, he could not of the sudden have been put into so great a Passion; but Love, and Jealousy, and the Complaints of his Wife (which few Men can avoid being provoked with) seduced *Theseus* to commit that Outrage upon his Son. And

(1) *Plutarch* was in his Principles a *Platonick*, and as such was persuaded that nothing came by chance, but that the Manners which are the Spring of every Man's Actions, are likewise the Source of his Happiness, or Misery. However he did not think fit avowedly to insult the Opinion of the Peripateticks, which, generally speaking, was That of the People, and attributed to Chance every thing that appears to Them unaccountable and surprizing.

(2) This I take to be the true Meaning of *Plutarch*, and his way of Reasoning is certainly very just; It is not easily to be conceiv'd how a Man can run out into such an Extravagance of Passion in a Council of State, where the Publick Weal is the Subject of their Deliberations. But *Plutarch* does not seem to have hit upon the real Motives of the Contest betwixt *Romulus* and *Remus*;

for in the first place the Publick was no way concern'd in the Debate on which of the Mounts the City ought to be built; their Ambition only was interested in it, and the Point contested between them was which of the Two should be Master of *Rome*. In the next place We are to consider that this was not the real Motive of *Romulus* his violent Transport; he was out of all Patience when he perceiv'd *Remus* did not only ridicule his Works, but added Insult to Raillery, leaping over the Ditch by way of Contempt, pretending thereby to foretell that the Enemy would demolish the Walls. So that it is to be doubted whether *Romulus* had not more cause to be enrag'd at his Brother, than *Theseus* at his Son: This is certain, that there ought to go more to the Incensing a Father against a Son, than the provoking a Brother against a Brother.

The Comparison of

what is more, *Romulus* in his Anger committed an Action of most unfortunate consequence ; but That of *Theseus* ended only in words, some evil-speaking, and an old Man's Curses ; the rest of the Youth's Misery seems to have proceeded from Fortune. So that so far a Man would give his Vote on *Theseus*'s Part. But then the Other has first of all this great advantage, that his Performances proceeded from very small Beginnings ; for both the Brothers being thought Servants, and the Sons of Swine-herds, before they were Free-men themselves, they gave Liberty to almost all the *Latins*, obtaining at once all the most honourable Titles, as Destroyers of their Country's Enemies, Preservers of their Friends and Kindred, Princes of the People, Founders of Cities, and not only Removers of them, such as *Theseus* was, who put together and built one place of Habitation out of Many, demolishing many Cities which bore the Names of ancient Kings and Heroes. 'Tis true, *Romulus* did the same afterwards, forcing his Enemies to deface and ruin their own Dwellings, and to sojourn with their Conquerors ; but at first he did not remove or increase a City that was before, but built one entirely from the ground ; acquiring likewise to himself, Lands, a Country, a Kingdom, Wives, Children, and Relations, he kill'd or destroy'd no body, but encouraged Those that wanted Houses and Dwelling-places, if willing, to be of a Society, and become Citizens : Robbers and Malefactors he slew not, but he subdued Nations, he overthrew Cities, he triumphed over Kings and Princes. And as to the business of *Remus*, it is doubtful by whose Hand he was cut off ; it is generally imputed to Others : His Mother he apparently retriev'd from Death, and placed his Grandfather, who was brought under base and dishonourable Vassalage, in the ancient Throne of *Æneas* ;

neas; and he voluntarily did him many good Offices, but never annoyed him, (1) no not even through Ignorance or Inadvertency. But *Theseus*, in his Forgetfulness and Inadvertency of the Command concerning the Flag, can scarcely methinks by any Excuses, or before the most easy Judges, avoid the Imputation of Parricide; which a certain *Athenian*, perceiving it very hard to make an Excuse for, feigns that *Aegeus*, at the arrival of the Ship, running hastily to a Tower to see what News, slip'd and fell down, either for want of accidental Help, or that no Servants attended him in that haste to the Sea-side. And then again, those Faults committed in the Rapes of Women, admit of no plausible Excuse in *Theseus*: First, in regard to the often repetition of the Crime; (for he stole *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, *Anaxo* the *Træzenian*, at last *Helena*, when he was an Old Man, and she not marriageable, being too young and tender, and he at an Age past even the thoughts of lawful Wedlock.) Then in regard to the Cause; for the *Træzenian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Amazonian* Virgins, beside that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raise Children by, than the *Athenians*, who were derived from *Erethheus* and *Cecrops*; but it is to be suspected, these things were done out of Insolence, and to gratify wanton Pleasure. Whereas *Romulus*, when he had seized near eight hundred Women, he took not All, but only *Herfilia* (as they say) for himself, and the rest he divided among the chief of the City: and afterwards, by the respect, and tenderness, and justice shewn towards them, he discover'd, that this Violence and Injury was a most commendable and

(1) This is very justly distinguish'd by *Plutarch*, because every capital Duty is criminal, tho' it flows from Ignorance and Inadvertency.

The Comparifon of

politick Exploit, to establish a Society; by which he intermix'd and united both Nations, and made it the Founrain of all after-Friendship, and of Power with them. And as for [that Chastity or] Reverence, and Love, and Constancy in Matrimony, which he established, Time can witness: For in (1) 230 Years, neither durst any Husband desert his Wife, nor any Wife her Husband; but as the most curious among the *Grecians* can tell you the first Man that killed either Father or Mother, so the *Romans* all well know, *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who put away his Wife, (2) accusing her of Barrenness. The Circumstances of Matters do testify for so long a time; for upon those Marriages, the two Princes (3) shar'd in the Dominion, and both Nations fell under the same Government. But from the Marriages of *Theseus* proceeded nothing, among the *Athenians*, of Friendship or Correspondence for the advantage of Commerce, but Enmities and Wars, and the Slaughter of Citizens, and at last the loss of the City *Aphidne*; where, only out of the Compassion of the Enemy, whom they entreated and caressed like Gods, they but just miss'd suffering what *Troy* did by *Paris*. *Theseus* his Mother was not only in danger, but suffer'd also what *Hecuba* did, in being deserted and abandoned by her Son; if that of her Captivity be not a Fiction, as I could wish both That

(1) These Numbers are wrong in *Plutarch*, for *Dionysius* says it was 520 after the Building of *Rome*. and *A. Gellius* 519.

(2) This he swore before the Censors, declaring at the same time that he lov'd his Wife with the utmost Tenderness, and parted with her only in Compliance with the Oath he had taken in Form

when he marry'd, wherein he protested that the end of his marrying was to have Children. This you will say was a very conscientious Heathen, and yet This did not hinder his Character from being ever after very ungracious with the People, who thought he had set a very pernicious Example.

(3) *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

and most other things of him were. What is fabulously related concerning both their Divinity, you will find a great difference in it: for *Romulus* was preserved by the special Favour of the Gods; but the Oracle given to *Ægeus*, commanding him to abstain from all strange and foreign Women, seems to demonstrate, that the Birth of *Theseus* was not agreeable to the Will of the Gods.





THE
L I F E
O F
L Y C U R G U S.



HERE is so much Incertainty in the accounts which Historians have left us of *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver of *Sparta*, that scarcely any thing is asserted by One of them, which is not call'd into question or contradicted by the Rest. Their Sentiments are quite different as to the Family he came of, the Voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his Death, but most of all when they speak of the Laws he made, and the Commonwealth which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very Age in which this excellent Person liv'd, for (1) some of them

(1) This is founded upon a Tradition that *Iphitus* instituted the Olympian Games 108 Years before the first Vulgar Olympiad, which commenced in the Year of the World 3174, or 3938 of the *Julian* Period, that is to say 774 Years before the Christian *Æra*, and that there had been 27 Olympiads, that is 108 Years, before the vulgar Computation by the Olympiads began, but that no Account



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Lud. Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.



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them say that he flourished in the time of *Iphitus*, and that they two jointly contriv'd the Ordinance for (1) the Cessation of Arms during the Solemnity of the *Olympick Games*. Of this Opinion was *Aristotle* the Philosopher, and for Confirmation of it he alledges an Inscription upon one of the Copper Coits used in those Sports, (2) upon which the Name of *Lycurgus* continued undefac'd to his time. But others, as (3) *Eratosthenes* and *Apollo-dorus*, two learned Chronologers, tracing back the time by the Successions of the *Spartan Kings*, pretend to demonstrate (4) that he was much more

Account was made of them, nor did they begin to compute by them till the 28th, in which *Corabus* was Conqueror, by which means no Memorial is left of Those who prevail'd in the 27 that preceded; This is what we learn from *Aristodemus*, *Phlegon Synceilus*, and Others. *Callimachus* reckons only 13 before That wherein *Corabus* bore the Prize. But I question whether these Authorities are to be rely'd upon.

(1) It is very remarkable all Warlike Operations ceased in Greece, not only during the Celebration of Those, but likewise of the three other Games, the *Isthmian*, *Pythick*, and *Nemean*. Can we name any one Christian Festival that has so much respect paid to it, and yet what a Difference is therebetween them!

(2) This Argument wou'd hold Water if it cou'd be proved that the *Lycurgus* whose Name was inscribed on the Coit was the same with the Legislator; but as there were Many of that Name it proves nothing.

(3) *Eratosthenes* was an Historian of *Athens*, and invited into

Ægypt by *Ptolemy Evergetes*, who made him his Library Keeper. He was Preceptor to *Callimachus*, and a Man of a most extensive Learning. He was Author of a great many Books of History, Chronology, and Geography, and is often quoted by *Strabo*. *Apollo-dorus* was Cotemporary with *Eratosthenes*. We have still an Abridgment of One of his Books call'd *Apollo-dorus his Library, or the Origine of the Gods*.

(4) One Hundred and Thirty Years before the first Olympiad according to the vulgar Computation. This Computation agrees pretty near with That of *Strabo*, who takes it for granted that *Lycurgus* was in the fifth Generation after *Althemenes*, who led a Colony into *Crete*. Now this *Althemenes* was the Son of *Cissus*, who founded *Argos* at the same time that *Patrocles*, *Lycurgus* his Grandfather in the fifth Degree, laid the Foundations of *Sparta*. So that *Lycurgus* flourished some short time after *Solomon*, about the Year of the World 3050. 900 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

antient

antient than the very first Olympiad. *Timæus* conjectures that there were (1) two of his Name, and in diverse times; but that the One of them being much more famous than the Other, Men gave to Him the Glory of the Exploits of Both: The Elder of the Two, according to Him, was not long after *Homer*, and Some are so particular as even to say that he had seen *Homer*. But that he was of great Antiquity may be gathered from a passage in * *Xenophon*, (2) where he makes him contemporary with the *Heraclidæ*; not but that the very last Kings of *Sparta* were *Heraclidæ* too: but he seems in that place to call Those *Heraclidæ* who were the first, and more immediate Successors of *Hercules*. But notwithstanding this confusion and obscurity of Writers who have gone before us in this Subject, we shall endeavour to compose the History of his † Life, setting down those passages which are least contradicted, and following those Authors who are most worthy of Credit.

The Poet *Simonides* will needs have it that *Lycurgus* was the Son of *Prytanis*, and not of *Eunomus*; but in this Opinion he is singular, for all the rest deduce the Genealogy of them both as follows.

<i>Aristodemus,</i>	}	{	<i>Prytanis,</i>
<i>Patrocles,</i>			<i>Eunomus,</i> who by his first
<i>Soüs,</i>			Wife had a Son nam'd <i>Polydeutes</i> , and by his second
<i>Eurition,</i>			Wife, <i>Dianassa</i> , had this <i>Lycurgus</i> .

(1) The Last of These was He who dethron'd his Collegue *Agessipolis* the Third of that Name. He also was descended from *Hercules*. These two *Lycurgus's* were of very different Tempers, One of them restor'd the Kingdom to his Nephew, in which Kingdom

the Other cou'd not endure a Partner.

(2) The Passage here quoted is in *Xenophon's* Treatise of the Republick of *Lacedamon*, from whence *Plutarch* has borrow'd every thing that is most material in this Life of *Lycurgus*.

whose

† Lib. de
Laced.
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† This was
the first
Life that
Plutarch
publish'd,
and he
seems to
have a
particular
respect to
this People,
by writing
a Book of
their wise
Sayings.

whose Life is before us; but as *Eutychidas* says, he was the Sixth from *Patrocles*, and the Eleventh from *Hercules*. Be this as it will, *Soüs* certainly was the most renown'd of all his Ancestors, under whose Conduct the *Spartans* subdu'd (1) and made Slaves of the *Ilotes*, and added to their Dominions a good part of the Country which they wrested from the *Arcadians*. There goes a Story of this King *Soüs*, that being besieged by the *Clitorians* in a dry and stony place, so that he could come at no Water, he was at last constrained to agree with them upon these hard terms, That he would restore to them all his Conquests, provided that himself * and all his Men should drink of a Spring * *A subtle promise.* not far distant from his Camp. After the usual Oaths and Ratifications, he call'd his Soldiers together, and offer'd to Him that would forbear Drinking, his Kingdom for a reward. [Their Thirst was so much stronger than their Ambition, that] not a Man of them was able to forbear. In short, when they had all drank their fill, at last comes King *Soüs* himself to the Spring, and, having sprinkled his Face only, without swallowing one drop, he march'd off in the Face of his Enemies, refusing to yield up his Conquests, because himself, and all his Men (according to the Articles) had not drank of their Water.

Altho' he was justly had in Admiration by his Subjects upon this account, (2) yet was not his Family surnamed from him, but from his Son *Eurytion*, of whom they were call'd *Eurytionides*:

(1) The *Ilotes*, or *Heilotes*, were the Inhabitants of *Helos*, a Maritime Town in *Laconia*. The *Spartans* having subdued them, gave the same Name to all Others who afterwards fell under the same Misfortune, for all their Slaves in general were call'd *Ilotes*.
(2) For till the Reign of *Eurytion* this Family was called the Family of the *Procleides*, or *Patrocleides*, from *Patrocles*, or *Procles*, the Father of *Soüs*.

the reason of This was, that *Eurytion* took a course never practis'd by his Predecessors, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by slackening the Reins of the Royal Authority. But the People, instead of growing more tractable by this remissness, waxed bolder in their Encroachments; and the succeeding Princes being partly become odious by using Force upon the People; and partly, either from good Nature or out of Weakness brought to yield too much; the whole Kingdom of *Sparta* continued in Anarchy and Confusion for a long time: This, amongst its other Tragical Effects, caused the Death of the then King who was the Father of *Lycurgus*, for as he was endeavouring to quell a Riot in which the Parties were come to Blows, he was among them most barbarously * butcher'd; and left the Title of King to his eldest Son *Polydeſtes*: but He too dying soon after, the Right of Succession (as every one thought) rested in *Lycurgus*; and reign he did, until it was known that the Queen, his Sister-in-Law, was with Child. But as soon as ever he had notice of This he immediately declar'd that the Kingdom belong'd to her Issue, provided it were Male, and he himself exercised the Regal Jurisdiction only as his Guardian. Such Guardians of infant Kings the *Lacedæmonians* call Πρόδοι [or Protectors.] Soon after an Overture was made to him by the Queen, that she would make her self miscarry, or some way destroy That she went with, upon Condition that he would marry her when he came to the Crown. Tho' he was extreamly incens'd against the Woman for this unnatural Proposal, yet wisely smothering his Resentments, and making shew of closing with her, he dispatch'd the Messenger with a world of Thanks, and expressions of Joy; but withal dissuaded her earnestly from procuring her self to miscarry, because that

* μαγει-
κῇ κοπίδι
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the

the violent means used in such cases would impair her Health, if not endanger her Life: Withal assuring her, that Himself would so order it, that the Child, as soon as born, should be taken *out of the way*. By These, and such like Artifices, having drawn on the Woman to the time of her Lying-in, as soon as ever he heard that she was in Labour, he sent some of his Council to be by and observe all that pass, with order, that if it were a Girl they should deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, that they should bring it to Him wheresoever he were, and whatsoever a doing. It so fell out, that as he was at Supper with his Principal Magistrates, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Boy, who was soon after presented to him as he was at the Table: he, taking him tenderly into his Arms, said to those about him, Behold, my Lords of *Sparta*, here is a King born unto us. This said, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and nam'd him *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*; because they were all so much transported with Joy, being struck with Admiration upon contemplating the Noble Mind and Justice of *Lycurgus*: And yet his Reign lasted only eight Months. But he was in other respects a Prince highly respected by his Citizens, and there were more who obeyed him, and were ready to do what he commanded, upon the account of his eminent Virtues, than because he was Guardian to the King, and had the Royal Authority deposited in his Hands. Yet could not all this *ensure* him from Envy, which made a push at him (as is usual) before he was well settled in his high Trust: The Heads of this Faction were the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen-Mother, who pretended not to have been dealt with suitably to her Quality; and her Brother *Leonidas*, in a warm debate which fell out betwixt him and *Lycurgus*, went so far as
to

to tell him to his Face, *that he was very well assured that ere-long he should see him King.* By this [reflecting Insinuation] he endeavour'd to make the People jealous, and prepared the way for a future Accusation of *Lycurgus*, as tho' he had made away with his Nephew, if he should chance to fail, tho' by a natural Death. Words of the like Import were designedly cast abroad by the Queen-Mother, and her Adherents.

Being exceedingly troubled at This, and fearing the Consequence, as not knowing what it might come to, he thought it his wisest Course to decline their Jealousy by a voluntary Exile, and so travel from place to place until his Nephew came to marriageable Years, and by having a Son had secured the Succession. Setting Sail therefore with this Resolution, he first arriv'd at *Crete*, where having considered their several Forms of Government, and got an Acquaintance with the principal Men among them, Some of their Laws he very much approv'd of, and resolv'd to make use of them in his own Country, and Others he rejected as useless. Amongst the Persons there, the most renown'd for their Ability and Wisdom in State Matters, was one *Thales*, whom *Lucurgus*, by repeated Importunities, and Assurances of Friendship, at last persuaded to go over to *Lacedemon*. When he came thither, by his outward Appearance and Character which he took upon him, he seem'd no other than a Lyrick Poet, but in reality he perform'd the part of one of the ablest Law-givers in the World: The very Songs which he compos'd were pathetical Exhortations to Obedience and Concord: (1) The sweetness of the Measures, and the

(1) If in those early days the Greek Musick was advanced to such a Pitch as to be able to soften and reform the Passions, what Improvements must it not have made from thence down to the

the cadence of the Verse, suiting with the Subject, both serious and delightful, had so great an influence on their Minds, that they were insensibly softned and civiliz'd; insomuch that at last they renounced their mutual Feuds and Animosities, which had kept them so long at Variance to their unspeakable Disadvantage, and re-united themselves into a chearful and unanimous concurrence for the publick welfare: so that it may truly be said that *Thales* prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, by removing the rubbish and clearing the ground-plot, that he might raise upon it the lasting Fabrick of that glorious Commonwealth.

From *Crete* he sailed to *Asia*, (1) with design (as is said) that by comparing the *Cretan's* way of living, which was very frugal and austere, with that of the *Ionians* which was very expensive and luxurious, he might the better judge of the difference of their several Manners and form of Government: as Physicians, by the opposition they

the Time wherein *Aristotle* flourish'd? At this time the surprising Effects which the Ancients ascribe to the Greek Musick are look'd upon as Fables: And yet *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Polybius*, not to mention all the Authors of Antiquity of the greatest Judgment and Veracity, would not have expos'd themselves to the Censure of a whole Nation, who wou'd have given them the Lye if they had attributed those Effects to Musick, which it never was able to produce. Their Musick must without Doubt have been infinitely superior to Ours, both from the Advantage they had over us with respect to their Language, and from the Turn of their Mind. For in all Countries we find that Musick sympathizes

with the Genius and Language of the Inhabitants.

(1) The *Ionians*, Inhabitants of *Attica*, sent a Colony into *Asia Minor* about 1050 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and possess'd themselves of all that Tract of Land that lyes between *Caria* and *Lydia*, and call'd it *Ionis*. This Migration happen'd about 150 Years before *Lycurgus*. But was it possible they shou'd become so degenerate in so short a time? It seems to Me that the first *Milesians* were much decry'd for their Fierceness, and Austerity, and I believe it will be no difficult thing to prove that they did not sink into that Effeminacy, and Corruption, for which they became a Proverb, till after the Reign of *Cyrus*.

find

find betwixt a healthful and sickly body, are enabled to distinguish the swelling of a Dropsy from a good and thriving habit, and a real Health from that which only appears to be so. (1) Here in all likelihood he had the first sight of *Homer's Works*, which were preserved in all probability (2) by the posterity of *Cleophylus*; and having observ'd that the few loose expressions and actions of ill example which are to be found in his Poems, were very much out-weigh'd by those grave Maxims of State and Rules of Morality (which are frequently couch'd under those very Fictions) he set himself eagerly to transcribe and collect them together intire, with a design to bring them home to his own Country: For before this time there were some obscure reports of these Poetical Works in *Greece*, but yet only some particular pieces were in a few private hands. (3) The whole Poem being confusedly scattered

(1) He adds in *all Likelihood*, because some *Greek Authors* have affirm'd that he had seen *Homer*, who was at that time at *Chios*. *Plutarch's* Opinion is more to be rely'd on. *Homer* died before *Lycurgus* was born.

(2) This *Cleophylus* had been *Homer's* Landlord, but how shall we make This agree with what *Porphyrius* writes? He tells us that the *Cleophylus*, who was *Homer's* Landlord, was *Pythagoras* his particular Friend. In that Case *Lycurgus* cannot be so antient by almost 300 Years, for he must then have been Cotemporary with *Servius Tullius*. But This is contrary to all the Rules of exact Chronology. *Cleophylus* the Friend of *Pythagoras* was without doubt descended from him, who had receiv'd *Homer* into his House.

(3) Before *Lycurgus* his time they had nothing in *Greece* of *Homer* but some detach'd pieces of his Writings, which were severally named from the several Subjects treated in them. Such as *Diomedes his Prowess*, *Hector's Ransom*, and the like; and yet We are not to infer from whence that *Homer's* Poems were no better than a jumble of Pieces tag'd together without bearing any Relation to One another, as a modern Author has pretended for want of rightly understanding a Passage in the 14th Chapter of the 7th Book of *Ælian*. Before the *Æneid* was publish'd the *Romans* had in their Hands several of the Episodes as for Instance That of *Marcellus*, Those of *Dido*, *Mezentius*, &c. and yet have We the least Grounds of Probability

scattered about in fragments. But *Lycurgus* [to his honour] was the first who brought it entire into general reputation.

The *Ægyptians* likewise say that he took a Voyage into *Ægypt*, and that, being much taken (1) with their way of separating the Soldiery from their Handicrafts and Mechanicks, he resolv'd to imitate them at *Lacedæmon*: and this distinction of their Professions, as it prevented *Confusion*, it encreased their *Strength*, and causing *Regularity*, added *Beauty* to the State. This Story of the *Ægyptians* is confirm'd by some of the *Greek* Historians also. But as for his Voyages into *Spain*, *Africk*, (2) and the *Indies*, and his Conferences there with the *Gymnosophists*, the whole Relation (as far as I can find) rests on the single Credit of *Aristocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*.

During the Absence of *Lycurgus*, tho' he was cheaply parted with, he was dearly miss'd at *Lacedæmon*, and a great many Embassies were sent to pray his Return: for Kings indeed we have (said they) who wear the Marks and assume the Titles of Royalty, but as for the inward Qualities of their Minds, they have nothing by which they are

Probability to conclude from thence that These were not Parts of a Poem, which being incorporated all together made one regular and uniform Body?

(1) The whole Country was divided into distinct Wards or Quarters call'd *Nomous*, a certain Number of which were assign'd to each Corporation or Company, which were seven in all, and of which the whole State was composed, viz. the Company of Priests, of Soldiers, Herdsmen, Shepherds, Merchants, Interpreters, and Seamen. The Martial

Men were called *Cala Syrians*, and *Hermolybians*, and were not allow'd to exercise any other Profession but That of Arms, which they were taught from Father to Son.

(2) How can it be said that *Lycurgus* ever travell'd into *India*, when we are told that *Alexander* was the first that shew'd the *Greeks* the Way thither above five hundred Years after *Lycurgus*. For as for the Expeditions of *Bacchus*, and *Hercules*, they are no better than Fables without any manner of Foundation.

to be distinguish'd from their Subjects; adding, that in Him alone was the true foundation of Sovereignty to be seen, a Nature made to rule, and a *Genius* of that strength, that it made him at the same time lov'd and *reverenced* by the People. Tho' this seem'd a little to reflect, yet were not the Kings themselves averse from his return, for they look'd upon his Presence as a Bulwark for them against the growing Insolencies of the People.

Things being in this posture at his return, he apply'd himself, without loss of time, to a thorough Reformation, and resolv'd to change the whole face of the Commonwealth: For what could a few particular Laws and a partial Alteration avail, when there was an universal Corruption of all Orders and Degrees of Men in the State? He took therefore the course wise Physicians use, when they have to do with One who labours under a complication of Diseases; they are not content to obviate One or Two of them, but follow him with Purges and bleeding until they have quite drain'd him of his peccant humors, and exhausted the corrupt mass of his Blood: This done, they restore him by degrees, and prescribe a Regimen of Diet quite contrary to the former. [The Reader will easily make the Application.] Having thus projected things, (1) away he goes to *Delphi* to consult *Apollo*; which having done and offer'd his Sacrifice, he return'd with that renowned Oracle, in which the Prophetess called him *Beloved of God, and rather God than Man*: and told him, That as to his request about the Settle-

(1) As *Minos* had made the People believe that *Jupiter* himself had deliver'd to him the Laws they were to observe, so *Lycurgus*, who copied from him in every thing, imitated him likewise in This, and wou'd persuade the *Spartans* that he did nothing but by the Direction of *Apollo*. By the help of an Oracle one may surmount any Difficulties in Undertakings of this Nature.

LYCURGUS.

195

ment of Good Laws, *Apollo* granted it, and promised to make the Commonwealth which observed them the most famous in the World. Encouraged by these things, he set himself to bring over to his side the leading Men of *Sparta*, exhorting them to give him a helping hand in this great undertaking. He broke it first to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained Others; at last he animated them all together to put his design in execution. When things were ripe for action, he gave order to thirty of the Principal men of *Sparta* to be ready arm'd at the Market-place by break of the day, to the end that he might strike a terror into the opposite party: *Hermippus* hath set down the names of twenty of the most eminent of them; but the name of Him whom *Lycurgus* most confided in, and who was of most use to him, both in making his Laws, and putting them in execution, was *Arithmiadas*. Things growing to a tumult, King *Charilaus* apprehending that it was a Conspiracy against his Person, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva* the * Protectress. Being soon after undeceived, and put in heart again, and having taken an Oath of them that they had no treasonable designs, he quitted his Refuge, and himself also entred into the confederacy with them: Of so gentle and flexible a disposition he was, to which, *Archelaus*, his Partner in the Government, alluded; when hearing him highly extoll'd for his Goodness, he said, How can *Charilaus* be otherwise than a gracious Prince, who cannot be severe even to the worst of men?

* *Χαλκίαιος*, so called because her Temple was of Brass: and was also called *Πολύχρος* or Protectress as *Pausanias* says.

Amongst the many changes and alterations which *Lycurgus* made, the first and of greatest importance was the establishment of the Senate, which having a power equal to the Kings in

matters of great consequence, did (as *Plato* (1) expresses it) with its phlegm allay and qualify the hot complexion of a Monarchy, and always both preserve the State of the Commonwealth, and kept it in good temper. For the State which before had no firm Basis to stand upon, but lean'd one while towards an absolute Monarchy (when the Kings had the upper hand) and another while towards a pure Democracy (when the People had the better of it) finding in this Establishment of the Senate a counterpoise, which always kept things in a just equilibrium, preserved a firm order and settlement. For the Twenty Eight always adher'd to the Kings, so far as to oppose a Democracy, and on

(1) The Passage to which *Plutarch* alludes is in *Plato's* third Book *de Legibus*. In that admirable Book, where he is examining into the Cause of the Fall of Empires, he makes an *Athenian* say to a *Spartan*. *I cannot but think you are under the immediate Care of some Deity, who foreseeing Events has given you two Kings both of the same Family, so that reigning both together their Government must be gentle, and the State in Tranquility; and as if This was not sufficient, a divine Spirit residing in a humane Nature (he means Lycurgus) conceiving their Power might still be too absolute and uncontrollable, soften'd and moderated it by infusing into it the Wisdom of the Senate, rendering the Authority of the Twenty Eight Senators, of which it is composed, equal to That of the Kings. We find him treating on the same Subject in his 8th Letter, where after he has made it appear that the downfall of States proceeds either from the greedy Desire of*

absolute Power in the Prince, or an over-fondness of Liberty in the Subject, he adds that *Lycurgus* having observ'd that the Kingdoms of *Argos* and *Messene* fell through the Pride of their Princes, who were degenerated into Tyrants, was afraid lest the same Fate might one day happen to *Lacedamon*, to prevent which Calamity he instituted a Senate, equally profitable both to the Kings and the People, for it set the Law above the Kings, and hindred Them from ever being able to get the better of the Law. *Aristotle* finds fault with this Institution of the Senate by which the Senators were to continue for Life; for as the Mind Ages in proportion with the Body, he thought it unreasonable to put the Fortunes of the Citizens into the Power of Men who through Age might become incapable of Judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their Actions.

the other side assisted the People to prevent Tyranny. As for the determinate number of Twenty Eight, *Aristotle* is of opinion that it so fell out, because being Thirty at First, with *Lycurgus*, two of the Associates for want of Courage fell off from the Enterprize; but (1) *Sphærus* assures us that there were but Twenty-eight of Those who were privy to the design at first. Perhaps there is some Mystery in the number, which consists of Seven multiply'd by Four, and is the first of perfect numbers after Six, being, as that is, equal to its sides. For my part, I cannot believe that *Lycurgus* had any such Niceties in his Head, but pitch'd upon the number of Twenty-eight Senators, that, the two Kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be Thirty in all. So eagerly set was *Lycurgus* upon this Establishment invented by himself, that he took a Journey to *Delphi* to credit it by the Approbation of the Oracle, who gave him the Famous *Rhetra*, or fundamental Statute, which runs thus. *After that you have built a Temple to Jupiter the (2) Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syllanian, and after you have divided the People into Tribes and Classes, you shall establish a Council of thirty Senators, in the number of which the two Kings shall be compriz'd; and shall from time to time call the People to an Assembly betwixt Babyca and Cnacion, where the Senate shall propound things to the Commons, * who shall [not have Power to debate upon their Proposals, but only to] give or refuse their Assent: and it shall*

* The words in the Original are corrupted and therefore obscure; but this seems to be the Sense of them, as appears from what follows.

(1) He was Zeno's Disciple, and Cotemporary with *Ptolemy Evergetes*. He wrote the Lives of the *Eretrian* Philosophers, so call'd from *Eretria* a Town in *Eubæa*. He wrote likewise the Life of *Lycurgus*, and That of *Socrates*, and is quoted as the Author of a Treatise concerning the Common

wealth of *Lacedamon*.

(2) I am at a loss to know what is meant by this Word *Syllanian*; and am of Opinion that instead of *Syllanian* it ought to be read *Sellasian*, for *Sellasia* was a Town in *Laconia* on the Banks of the *Eurotas*.

be in the Power of the Senate to dissolve the Assembly. For thus he attributed the very ground and foundation of his political Institution to *Apollo*. *Babyca* and *Cnacion* are now called *Oenus*, though *Aristotle* calls *Cnacion* a River and *Babica* a Bridge, and between these their Assemblies were held, for they had no spacious Council-house richly hung and furnished to receive them in : for *Lycurgus* was of Opinion that such Theatrical Ornaments were so far from advantaging them in their Counsels, that they were rather an hindrance, by diverting their Attention from the business before them, to gape upon the Statues and Pictures, and Roofs curiously fretted, the usual embellishments of such places amongst the other *Græcians*. The People then being thus assembled in the open air, it was not allow'd to any one of their Order to give his Advice, but only either to ratify or reject what should be propounded to them by the Kings or Senate. But because it fell out afterwards that the People made glosses and explanations of Laws contrary to the intent of the Kings and Senate, and sometimes too by adding or omitting whole Sentences, perverted the sense, the Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* (to be even with them in their own kind) inserted into the *Rhetra* or grand Decretal the following Clause ; *That if the People should offer any cross proposal to be passed then the Senate and Kings should reject it*: That is, should not confirm it, but absolutely retire and dissolve the Assembly of the People, for thus offering to pervert and deprave the Sense of the Law. This business was so dextrously managed, that it pass'd among the People for as divine a precept as the rest of the *Rhetra*, as appears by these Verses of *Tyrtaeus*:

*If, Spartans, ye desire that Heav'n should bless
Your New-born State with lasting Happiness,*

Hear

*Hear what Apollo's Oracle commands :
Jove puts the Scepter into Princes hands.
Let them Command ; let Senators debate
The deep Affairs, and Interests of State :
Hear ye, and give assent, and reverence pay,
And know, 'tis Subjects privilege——to obey.*

Altho' *Lycurgus* had in this manner us'd all the qualifications possible in the Government of his Commonwealth, yet Those who succeeded him thought that the smallness of the number of which the Senate consisted, made them somewhat imperious and pressing, and therefore (as *Plato* says) they put a bridle upon them, which was the power of the *Ephori*, establish'd a hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. *Elatus* was the first who had this Dignity confer'd upon him, in the Reign of King *Theopompus*, whom when his Queen upbraided one day, that he would leave the regal Power to his Children less than himself had received it from his Ancestors, he told her that she was much mistaken, for he should leave it so much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to last. (1) For indeed the Prerogative

(1) *Aristotle* however very much condemn'd this Constitution of the *Ephori*. In the first place he thought their Authority too extensive ; for the Kings themselves were oblig'd to cajole them. In the next, he cou'd by no means approve of their being chosen from among the People, which was the way to have many of them corrupt, and mercenary, as it often prov'd upon Experience. Thirdly he thought it a ridiculous thing for Men without Learning, and of no Education, to be allow'd to decide according to their own Wills, and not by written Laws. Lastly he condemn'd the Conduct of the *Ephori* in their way of living, which being very dissolute and licentious did insensibly undermine the austere Rules impos'd on the other Citizens. The *Ephori* occasion'd the same Disorders at *Sparta*, which the Tribunes of the People did at *Rome*. Notwithstanding all this, it cannot be deny'd that *Theopompus* by moderating the Royal Authority made the Government of *Sparta* more durable. See the sixth Book of *Aristotle's* *Politicks*, Chap. 11.

being thus kept within some reasonable bounds, was at once freed from the envy, and secur'd from the danger, to which an unlimited Jurisdiction lies exposed. So that (1) the *Spartan* Kings fared much better after it, than their Neighbours at *Messene* and *Argos*; who by screwing their Prerogative too high, crack'd it, and for want of yielding a Little to the Populacy, lost All.

Indeed, whosoever shall take a prospect of the Seditions and Civil Wars which beset these bordering Nations, (to (2) whom they were as nearly related in blood as situation) will find good reason to admire the profound wisdom and providence of *Lycurgus*; for these three States in their first Rise were equal, or, if there were any odds, they lay on the side of the *Messenians* and *Argives*, (3) who in the division of their Country were more fortunate than the *Spartans*: yet was their flourish but of small continuance, soon falling into confusion, partly by the tyrannical disposition of their Kings, and partly by the ungovernableness of the people: which makes it appear to the whole world, that it was one of the greatest Blessings which Heaven could send down upon the *Spartans*,

(1) This might have been effected by the Authority of the Senate, without having recourse to the *Ephori* who were the Cause of fatal Seditions in *Sparta*. for in one of them they kill'd *Agis*, and were themselves killed at last by *Cleomenes*.

(2) He saith *Argos* and *Messene* were related to *Sparta*. because the Founders of those three Cities were all the Descendants of *Hercules*; *Argos* and *Messene* were founded by the two Brothers *Temenus* and *Cresphontes*, and *Sparta* by their two Nephews, *Eury-*

thenes, and *Patroclès* the Son of *Aristodemus*.

(3) The Soil of *Argos* and *Messene* was much more kindly than That of *Sparta*. *Euripides* saith somewhere, that *Laconia* was of a large Extent, but that the Land was not fit for Tillage by reason of the many mountainous Parts in it, whereas there is no Country in *Greece* more fertile and profitable than *Messenia*, whose Land is water'd by a great many Brooks, and abounds with every kind of Pasture. The same was to be said of *Argos*. See *Strabo*, Lib. 8.

to give them so wise a Law-giver, who could so exquisitely frame and temper the Constitution of their Commonwealth. But of this I shall say more in its due place.

After the Creation of the thirty Senators, his next task, and indeed the most hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new division of their Lands. For there was a very strange inequality among the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, so that the City was furcharged with a multitude of beggarly and necessitous persons, whilst the Lands and Money were engrossed by a Few: therefore to the end that he might banish out of the State Luxury and Arrogance, (the vices of the Rich) and Envy and Knavery, (the usual faults of the poor) and the source of all these Mischiefs, Want and (1) Avarice, he obtained of them to renounce their properties, as it were reducing the whole Country to a Common Stock, and to consent to a new division of the Land; that they should live all with the equality and friendliness of Co-heirs and Brothers; and allow the Pre-eminence to Virtue only, as if there were no other difference or inequality between one Man and another, but what the disgrace of doing base Actions, or Credit of doing worthily, created.

Having got their consent to his Proposals, he immediately put them in execution: and having exactly survey'd the whole Country of *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thousand equal shares, and the Liberties of the City of *Sparta* into nine thou-

(1) The *Lacedaemonians* for many Years after *Lycurgus* held out against Avarice, insomuch that a young Man, who had purchased an Inheritance at a very low Price, was called to account, and fined for it: For besides the Injustice of buying a thing for much less than it was worth, the Judges charged him with being too much addicted to Gain, since he thought of laying up at an Age when others minded nothing but spending.

‡ μεδίσμ-
vus, a Mea-
sure con-
taining al-
most six
Pecks Eng-
lish.

* i.e. such
as produce
Oyl and
Wine, &c.

land; and These he distributed to the Inhabitants of the City, as he did the Others to Them who dwelt in the Country. Some Authors say that he made but six thousand lots for the Citizens of *Sparta*, and that King *Polydore* added three thousand more. Others say that *Polydore* doubled the number *Lycurgus* had made, which (according to them) was but four thousand five hundred. A Lot was so much as to yield one year with another about (1) seventy ‡ Bushels of Grain for the Master of the Family, and twelve for his Wife, with a suitable proportion of * liquid fruits. And This was thought sufficient to keep their bodies in good health and lusty, and they had no occasion for superfluities. It is reported, that as he returned from a Journey some time after the division of the Lands, in harvest time, the ground being newly reaped, observing the Sheaves to be all equal, and the Shocks of the same bigness, he smilingly said to Those about him, *Metbinks Lacedæmon is like the Inheritance of a great many Brothers, which have newly made a division among themselves.*

Not contented with This, he resolv'd to make a division of their Moveables too, that there might be no odious distinction or inequality left amongst them; but finding that it would be very difficult to make them part with what they had directly, He took another Course, and got the better of their eager desires for such things by this Stratagem. First he commanded that all Gold and Silver Coin should be cry'd down, and that only a sort of Money made of Iron should be current,

(1) This seems a very unequal Distribution; but we are to understand that so much was allotted to the Husband, who was Master of the Family, to enable him to maintain his Children, and feed his other Domesticks. The Wife's share was reckon'd apart, the better to ascertain the Dower, to which she was intitled.

whereof

whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: So that to lay up twenty or thirty Pounds, there was requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it, (1) nothing less than a Yoke of Oxen. By this Invention, it is scarcely to be imagin'd how many execrable Vices were banish'd *Lacedæmon*: For who would rob another of such a scurvy sort of Coin? Who would unjustly detain it? Who would cheat and circumvent, be brib'd, or turn Knight of the Post to compass it? when it was not easy to be hid when a Man had it, nor brought a Man any credit in the World by the Possession of it, nor could turn to any account when you had cut it in pieces; for when it was red hot, and just stamp'd, they quench'd the Edges in Vinegar, and by that means made it unfit for any other use, as being almost unmanageable by its hardness.

In the next place he banish'd all useless Arts, and Such as were not absolutely necessary: but here he might almost have spar'd his Precaution; for many of them would without any Compulsion have gone after the Gold and Silver; the money which remain'd being not so proper payment for curious Pieces: for being of Iron it was scarcely portable, neither if they should take so much pains as to export it, would it pass among the other *Grecians*, who were so far from valuing it, that they thought it one of the most ridiculous things in

(1) Every Piece weigh'd a Pound, and went but for little. This Regulation was of use no longer than whilst the *Spartans* were satisfied with their own Territories. When once they came to be engaged in foreign Wars, their Money being not passable in other Countries, they found themselves obliged to have recourse to the *Persians*, whose Gold and

Silver dazzled their Eyes. So that the means whereby *Lycurgus* made his City poor, the same Means made his Citizens covetous; and their Covetousness was the Occasion of a Proverb mentioned in *Plato*, *One may see a great deal of Money carry'd into Lacedæmon, but One never sees any of it brought out again.*

the world. Thus there was no such thing as trafficking in any foreign wares or toys, neither did any Merchants think it worth their while to bring in their Goods to any of their Ports: Nor was any part of *Laconia* pester'd with any *pedantical* Teachers of Rhetorick, with Gypsies, Fortune-tellers, and Calculators of Nativities; no pimping corrupters of Youth brought their Ladies of composition, or their Boys to be unnaturally abus'd there; no Goldsmiths, and Engravers, or Jewellers, were to be found amongst them, *for there was no Money*: So that Luxury being by degrees depriv'd of that which fed and fomented it, was quite starv'd out, and died away of it self. For the Rich had no pre-eminence here over the Poor, and their Riches and Abundance, having no opportunity of appearing and boasting of themselves in publick, were forced to remain useles at home, a *costly prey* to the Rust and the Moth. Their thoughts being thus taken off from things superfluous, they became excellent Artists in Those which were necessary; so that Bedsteads, Chairs and Tables, and such like staple Utensils in a Family, were admirably well made there; particularly the *Laconick*

* *κωβων.*

† *τοῖς ἀμ-
εωσι.*

* Cup was very much in fashion, and bought up by Soldiers, as *Critias* reports: for the colour and thickness of the Cup hindred the muddiness of the dirty water (which, though shocking to the sight, yet must upon Marches often be drank) from being perceived; and the Figure of it was such, that the Mud sank to the bottom, and was stopt by the † swelling of the Sides, so that only the purest part of the Water came to the Mouth of him that drank it. And this skill of theirs was mainly owing to their Law-giver, by whom the minds of the Artisans being disengaged from any thing useles or unnecessary, were at lei-
fure

sure to shew their utmost skill in those things which were of daily and indispensable use.

The third and most masterly stroke of this excellent Politician, by which he struck at the very roots of Luxury, and exterminated utterly the desire of Riches, was the (1) Institution of * publick * *συσίτι- ων*. Tables, that they should all eat in common, of the same meat, and of such kinds as were specify'd in the Decree: by which it was expressly (2) forbid to pamper themselves in private, to use rich Couches, and magnificent Tables, abusing the labours of excellent Workmen, and *delivering* themselves up into the hands of their Butchers and Cooks, who us'd to *cram* them in Corners, as they fatted up the *Beasts* and the *Poultry* they fed on: By which way of life their Manners were not only corrupted, but their Bodies too were enfeebled; so that giving the rein to their sensual Appetites, they stood in need of long sleep, and hot *Bagnio's*, and, in a word, of as much Care and Attendance as if they were continually *Sick*. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about such an Enterprize as This, but a greater yet to have effected, by this Eating in Common and using a very frugal diet, that their riches should be privileged from the hands of rapine, nay rather (as

(1) They made their Meals in their Armour, to the End they might be ready upon all Occasions to receive Orders and put them in Execution. This Establishment was of use so long as there were no more Citizens than shares of Land; But when the Number of the first increased, those Families who were burthen'd with Children were not in a Condition to furnish their Quota to the publick Repasts, which drew upon the City the Calami-

ty *Lycurgus* would have prevented, that is, a number of Poor. He ought rather to have ordain'd that those publick Tables should have been maintain'd at the Expence of the Publick; as it was done in *Crete*.

(2) This Prohibition signify'd nothing when the *Ephori* were allow'd to feast magnificently, and wallow in Luxury; an Example that did more harm to the Publick than the Law could do good.

Theophrastus

* ΠΛΥΤΟ
 * ΠΛΥΤΟ.

Theophrastus observes) should be utterly degraded, *losing their property, and almost their very nature, so that they no longer were the objects of envy. For the rich being oblig'd to partake of the same fare with the poor, they could not make use of, or enjoy their choice viands, nor so much as please their vain humours, by making a shew and vaunting of them to the World. So that the common Proverb, that *Plutus* (the God of riches) is blind, was no where so literally verifi'd as in *Sparta*: for there he was kept continually blind, or rather like a meer image, senseless and motionless, [as when he lay *wrapt* up in the dark *entrails* of the Earth.] Nor could they take any refectiō in private before they came to the public Halls; for every one had an eye upon those who did not eat and drink with a good stomach, and reproach'd them with the name of *dainty* and *effeminate*.

This last Ordinance bore very hard upon the wealthier sort of Men, so that being out of all patience they made an insurrection against *Lycurgus*, and from ill words came to blows; so that at length he was forced to run out of the Assembly, and make to the Sanctuary to save his Life. By good hap he got before all the rest, excepting one *Alcander*, (a young Gentleman otherwise not ill accomplish'd, but too hasty and cholerick) who came up so close to him, as that, whilst he turn'd himself about to see who was near him, he struck him upon the Face, and beat out one of his Eyes. The incomparable *Philosopher* was so far from being daunted and discouraged by this Accident, that he stopt short, and shew'd his reverend Face all in a gore Blood to his ingrateful Countrymen: They were so strangely surpriz'd and asham'd to see it, that they immediately begg'd Pardon, offer'd him any sort of reparation,

reparation, and deliver'd *Alcander* into his hands, to be punish'd as he should think fit, conducting him home with the greatest concern for this ill usage. *Lycurgus*, having thank'd them for their care of his Person, dismiss'd them all, excepting only *Alcander*: Taking him with him into his House, he neither did nor said any thing severely to him, but dismissing Those whose place it was, he order'd *Alcander* to wait upon him at Table; the young Man, who was not ill bred, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near him, he had opportunity to observe in him (besides the natural goodness and mildness of his Temper) an extraordinary Sobriety in his Diet, and a strength of Complexion proceeding from it, which no Labours and Fatigues were able to surmount. He was so ravish'd with Admiration of these excellent Qualities, that of an Enemy he became one of his most zealous Admirers, and told his Friends and Relations that *Lycurgus* was not that morose and ill-natur'd Man whom they had formerly took him for, but of the sweetest and most Gentleman-like Disposition in the World. And thus did *Lycurgus*, (for Chastisement of his fault) make of a wild and dissolute young Man, one of the discreetest Citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, surnamed *Optilete*, from a * Word which in the *Dorick* Dialect, used in this Country, signifies the *Eyes*: For some Authors, of which *Dioscorides* is one (who wrote a Treatise of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*) say, that he was wounded indeed, but did not lose his Eye with the blow; and this was the cause of the Dedication of that Temple, in gratitude for the Cure. Be this as it will, certain it is, that this misadventure was the cause that the *Lacedæmonians*

* ὀπίλας.

The LIFE of

nians never bring any Arms, no not so much as a Staff, into their publick Assemblies.

But to return to their publick Repasts which had several Names in Greek; for the *Cretans* call'd them *Ανδρεια* (because the Men only came to them:) The *Lacedæmonians* call'd them *Φιλίτια*, that is, (changing λ into ς, the same as *Φιλίτια*) Feasts of Love, because that by eating and drinking together they had opportunity of making Friends; or else (taking *Φιλίτια*, for *Φειδίτια*, from a Word which signifies Parsimony) because they were so many Schools of Sobriety. To put in my own conjecture, perhaps they were, as Some say, simply call'd *Ἐδίτια* (Eating-Houses) for such the Word is by the subtraction of one Letter. They met by Companies of Fifteen, over or under, and each of them stood bound to bring in monthly a Bushel of Meal, eight Gallons of Wine, five Pounds of Cheese, two Pounds and a half of Figs, for their dessert, and a little Mony to buy Flesh and Fish withal. Besides this, when any of them made Sacrifice to the Gods, they always sent a Dole to the Common-hall; and likewise when any one of them had been a hunting, he sent thither a part of the Venison he had kill'd; it was an allowable Excuse for supping at home, if a man had been sacrificing or hunting, all others were bound to appear. This Custom of eating together was observ'd strictly for a great while afterwards; insomuch that King *Agis* himself, having vanquish'd the *Athenians*, and (1) sending for his Commons at his return home, because he desir'd to eat privately with his Queen, was refused by

(1) The Kings of *Sparta* had always double Commons allow'd them, as *Xenophon* has observ'd, not that they were indulg'd to eat as much again as the rest, but that they might have an Opportunity of sharing it with some brave Man whom they thought worthy of that Honour.

the (1) *Polemarchi*; which refusal, when he resented so much as to omit the Eucharistical Sacrifices, which used to be made for a War happily ended, they were so far from asking his Pardon, that they set a Fine upon his Head, and obliged him to pay it.

They us'd to send their Children to these publick Tables as to Schools of Temperance and good Husbandry: Here they were instructed in State-affairs, not by mercenary *Pedants*, but by experienced *Statesmen*: Here they learn'd the Art of Conversation, to *Droll* without *Reflecting*, and to make Jests at the cost of no Man's Reputation; and withal to take a Jest with the same Innocence and Unconcernedness that they gave one. To bear a Jest was thought a Character exceedingly becoming a *Lacedemonian*: But if any Man were out of humour, or was not of a nature to bear a Jest, upon the least hint given there was no more to be said to him: It was customary also for the eldest Man in the Company to tell each of them, as they came in, *Look ye, Sir, not a Word said in Company must go out of this Door*, and withal he pointed to it. When any one had a desire to be admitted into any of these little Societies, he was to go through this manner of probation: Each man of that company took a little ball of soft bread (a custom much like that of *balloting* in other places) which they were to throw into a Pitcher, which a Waiter carried round upon his head: Those that lik'd the person to be chosen drop'd their Ball into the Pitcher without alter-

(1) That is Those who had commanded the Army under the Kings, for upon quitting, or being discharged from the Service, they were assign'd to that Office of carving or dividing the Commons, which was of such Dignity, that none but the principal Men in the State were admitted to it.

ing the figure, and those who disliked him press'd it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat: and this signify'd as much a *negative* voice; for if there were but one of these flatted pieces found in the Pitcher, the Suitor was rejected: so curious they were in the choice of their company, and so tender of disgusting any one member in it, by taking in a Man unacceptable to him. He that was thus rejected was said to be *decadd'd*, or *pitcher'd*, because the vessel into which they threw the little balls was called *Caddus*, or *Pitcher*.

Their principal Dish was a sort of black Broth, which was so much valued that the elderly sort fed only upon That, leaving what flesh there was to the Younger.

They say that a certain King of *Pontus*, having heard much of this black Broth of Theirs, sent for a *Lacedæmonian* Cook on purpose to make him some; he had no sooner tasted it but he found it was abominable: the Cook seeing him out of conceit with it, told him; *Sir, to make this Broth relish, you should have bath'd your self first in the River of Eurotas.*

Having eaten and drank thus moderately, every man went to his home without *lights*: (1) for they were utterly forbidden to walk with a light either upon This or any other occasion, to the end they might accustom themselves to march boldly in the dark. And such was the Order and Fashion of their common Tables.

Lycurgus would never reduce his Laws into Writing; nay it is expressly forbid in one of those

(1) *Xenophon* saith, this Prohibition affected only the younger Sort, who receiv'd a double Advantage by it: for knowing they were not to lie where they supped, they were forced to keep themselves sober that they might be in a Condition to find the way home, and they were accusom'd to walk by Night as well as by Day, without the Assistance of a Torch or Lanthorn.

called the *Rhetra*: for he thought that the most material points, and such as most directly tended to the publick Welfare, being (1) *imprinted* on the Hearts of their Youth by a good Education; and by a constant and habitual Observance of them, becoming a *second* Nature, would supply the place of a Law and Law-giver in them all the rest of their Lives; and as for things of lesser importance, as pecuniary Contracts, and such like, the forms of which ought to be chang'd as occasion requires, and in tract of time become insufficient for the ends they were intended for, he thought it the best way to leave them to every Man's Discretion, (2) and to prescribe no certain form at all. He left therefore no inviolable Custom in such Cases, willing that the manner and form of bargaining should be alter'd according to the circumstances of Time, and determinations of Men who were well educated. For he laid the whole Stress of all that related to Law-giving upon a good Education.

One then of the *Rhetra* was (as I said) that their Laws should not be written: another of them is particularly levell'd against Luxury and Expen-

(1) Laws without Manners are but a small Defence against the Passions of Mankind. *Horace* has put the Question very well, *Quid Leges sine moribus vana proficiunt?* But if Laws without Manners are unprofitable, Manners are of but little Effect without Laws: And We find by daily Experience that the Weakness and Corruption of Humane Nature is such, that it is absolutely necessary to call the written Law in to the Assistance of the Unwritten. One cannot subsist without the mutual Support of the Other.

(2) For all obligatory Forms were invented to prevent Injustice, and make Men honest. Now if Men are naturally honest, where is the use of such Forms? if they are otherwise, of what Use can they be in that Case? since Injustice is generally too strong for any Bar or Restraint whatever. *Horace* has very well express'd it,

— adde *Cicuta*
Nodosi tabulas centum: mille
adde catenas:
Effugiet tamen hac sceleratus
Vincula Proteus.

siveness; for by That it was ordained, That the Ceilings of their Houses should only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors smooth'd only by the Saw, without using any other Tool. And this was not without Mystery: for if *Epaminondas* could afterwards say with so good a Grace, inviting some Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be secure, Treason would never come to such a poor Dinner as this*; why might not this great Law-giver in all probability have thought that such ill-favour'd Houses would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity? For a Man must be more than ordinarily void of common discretion that would furnish such Rooms with embroidered Beds, and hangings of Arras, that would be serv'd in Plate upon a rough-hewn Table, and pretend to *pomp* and *magnificence* in a House which was almost too narrow for the *Necessities* of Life. And doubtless he had good reason to think that they would proportion their Beds to their Houses, and their Coverlets to their Beds, and that the rest of their Goods and Furniture would be suitable to them. It is reported that King *Leotychidas*, the first of that Name, had been so little used to the sight of other kind of Work, that, being entertain'd at *Corinth* in a stately Room, he was much surpriz'd to see the Timber and Ceiling so finely wrought, and asked his Host, *whether the Trees grew *square in his Country*.

* τετρα-
γωνα.

A third Ordinance or *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus*, which is often mentioned, was, That they should not make War often, or long, with the same Enemy, lest they should train and instruct them in the Art of War, by having often to do with them; and by forcing them to defend themselves, at length teach them to be the Aggressors. And for breaking this Law was *Agefilans* much blamed a long time after, by making such continual IncurSIONS

into

into *Bœotia*, that at length (1) he taught that People to make Head against the *Lacedæmonians*; and therefore *Analcidas*, seeing him wounded one day, said to him, that he was very well paid for teaching the *Thebans* to be good Soldiers whether they would or no. And these Laws were called the *Rhetæ*, that is to say, not Inventions of Man's Wisdom, but Divine Sanctions and Revelations from Heaven.

In order to the good Education of their Youth (which, as I said before, he thought the most important and noblest Work of a Law-giver) he went so far back as to take into consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages. (2) For *Aristotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of ways to reduce the Women to more Modesty and Sobriety, he was at last forc'd to leave them as they were, not being able to restrain the great Liberties they took, and the Superiority which they assumed; because that in the absence of their Husbands, (3) who spent the best part of their lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much respect as if they had been so many Queens. But by his good leave it is a

(1) This appear'd undeniably at the Battle of *Leuctra*, where the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown by *Epaminondas*, and lost their King *Cleombrotus* together with the Flower of their Army.

(2) The Passage alluded to here is in the seventh Chapter of the second Book of *Aristotle's* Politicks, where he makes it appear, that in whatever State the Women are depraved, one half of that State is corrupted, and the Corruption of

the Half will soon be spread over the Whole. At *Lacedæmon*, the grey Mare, according to the Proverb, was the better Horse; the Women govern'd all, and That in the long Run was the Cause of their Destruction. *Plutarch's* is but a weak Justification of *Lycurgus*.

(3) Their first Wars were with the *Argives*, after That with the *Arcadians*, and last of all the *Messeniensians*.

mistake; for (1) he took for that Sex too all the care that was possible: as an instance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exercise themselves with Wrestling, Running, throwing the Bar, and casting the Dart, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, and grow strong, and spread it self in strong and healthy Bodies, and withal that they themselves by such robust exercises might be the more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing with Ease and Safety. And to the end he might take away their over-great Tenderness, and that *acquired* Womanishness which vain custom hath added to the *natural*, he ordered that they should go naked as well as the young Men, and dance too in that Condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them: In these Songs they now and then gave a Satirical glance, to very good purpose, upon Those who had misbehaved themselves [in the Wars,] and sometimes sang Encomiums upon Such as had done any gallant Action; and by these means enflamed the younger sort with an Emulation of their Glory. Those that were thus praised for their Bravery, and in high credit among the Virgins, went away hugely satisfied with such Commendation; and Those who were rally'd, were as sensibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded; and so much the more, because the Kings and the whole Senate, as well as the rest of the City, went to see and hear all that pass'd. Now

(1) And what did it tend to? only to make 'em stubborn to their Husbands. I am surpriz'd to find *Plutarch* endeavouring to justify *Lycurgus* against the Evidence of all Antiquity, whereby

it appears that the Licentiousness of the *Spartan* Dames was so strong that nothing could restrain it. This is confess'd even by a *Lacedamonian* in *Plato's* Books de *Legibus*.

tho'

tho' it may seem strange that Virgins should appear thus naked in publick, yet may it be said that where *true* Modesty was observ'd and Wantonness excluded, (1) there was nothing of Shame or Indecency in it; but it accustomed them to an innocent Simplicity, and rais'd in them an Emulation of having a vigorous Constitution, (2) and gave even their tender Sex a Tincture of noble and manly Courage, as knowing that they were also to share in the Credit of Valour and Generosity. From hence came that Liveliness of Speech and Nobleness of Spirit, of which we have an Instance in Gorgo, the Wife of King Leonidas, who being told, in Discourse with some foreign Ladies, *You Women of Lacedæmon are They only of the World who have an Empire over the Men*; she briskly repartee'd, *A good Reason, for we are the only Women that bring forth Men*. Lastly, these publick Processions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exercises and Dancings, were Pro-

(1) He means that a chaste temperate Mind may look even on Nudities without any Concern or Offence. So saith Livy, *Men naked are but as so many Statues in the Eyes of a modest Woman*. But is it nothing to offend against Decency, and natural Bashfulness? How can Plutarch justify a Thing so unreasonable, and shocking to Modesty! In the *Andromache* of Euripides, Peleus reproaches Menelaus that his Wife's Wantonness was owing to her Spartan Breeding: His Words are remarkable. *It is not in the Power of the Spartan Maidens to be modest, tho' they had a mind to it; for they go abroad with their Petticoats half open that their Thighs may be seen; they keep Company with the Young Men; they run Races, and wrestle with*

them, which is a Thing not to be endured; and after all This, is it to be wonder'd at if your Wives are no chaster than they shou'd be? Plutarch enters here too seriously into Plato's Sentiments, who saith in his fifth Book *de Republ.* that this Nudity in the Women, which he recommends, can have nothing of Shame in it whilst they are clad with the Garment of Modesty. A very chimerical Abatement!

(2) How did this Courage appear, when Epaminondas, after the Battle at *Leuctra*, went to attack *Sparta*? then the Women did nothing but run this Way, and That, all in a Fright; they filled the City with their Shrieks, and were the Cause of more Disorder and Confusion than the Enemies themselves.

* ἡ γυν-
μεινῆται,
ἀλλ' ἐρω-
τικαῖς
ἀνδραγα-
Plato de
repub. l. 5:

vocations and Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage; who were drawn * *not by force of Geometrical reasons, but the more powerful force of Love, as Plato expresses it.* [i. e. "not by Interest "and Equality of Fortune and Birth, but from "the *sweet* Constraint and unsophisticated Dictates "of Nature, from that *mysterious* Agreement and "Sympathy of Minds which alone can make Men "happy in a married Estate.] Besides this, that he might promote Marriage more effectually, Those who continued Batchelors were made infamous by Law; for they were excluded from the sight of those publick Processions in which the young Men and Maidens danc'd naked; nay, the Officers compell'd them to march naked themselves round the Market-place in the very depth of Winter, singing a certain Song to their own disgrace, that they justly suffer'd this Punishment for disobeying the Laws. Moreover they were depriv'd of that Respect and Obedience which the younger sort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore no Man found fault with what was said to *Dercylidas*, a great Captain, and one who had commanded Armies; who, as he came into the place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room for him, told him, Sir, you must not expect *that Honour* from me now I am young, which *cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.*

‡ The Romans allow'd them to marry at twelve Years of Age: he covertly blames them for it.

When they had a mind to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the Persons whom they had a fancy for, and those they chose not tender and † half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for a Husband: After this, she who manag'd the Wedding, comes and shaves close the Hair of the Bride, dresses her up compleatly in Man's Clothes, leaves her upon a Matress in the dark; this done, in comes the Bridegroom,

groom, in his every Day Clothes, sober and compos'd, as having supp'd according to Custom at the Common Table, and steals in as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Zone, and takes her into his Embraces; and so having stay'd some time together, he returns as secretly as he can to his Apartment with the rest of his Comrades, with whom he spends all the Day, and good part of the Night too, unless he steals a short Visit to his Bride, and this he does with a great deal of Circumspection and Fear of being discover'd by any of the Family; nor is the Bride wanting (as may be suppos'd) on her part, to use her Woman's Wit in watching the most favourable Opportunities for their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was most out of the way. In this manner they liv'd a long time, insomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before ever they saw their Faces by daylight. Their Interview being thus difficult and rare, serv'd not only for continual Exercise of their Temperance, and further'd very much the Ends and Intention of Marriage, but besides, these short Absences kept their Passion still alive, which *flags*, and *decays*, and *dies* at last by too easy Access and long Continuance with the beloved Object; they always parted with Regret, contriving when they should come together again, [and thought Minutes Hours till the next meeting.] Having thus set Modesty as a Centinel over the Marriage-Bed, he next bethought himself how to prevent that wild and womanish Passion, *Jealousy*, by making it a matter of reputation, not only to banish from Matrimony all violence and disorder, but also to allow Men (1) the Freedom of imparting the use of their Wives to deserving Persons, that so

(1) A Remedy worse than the Disease; blam'd and derided by the other Grecians.

they

they might have Children by them : and he laugh'd at those who think the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, that they revenge it by Murders often, and sometimes by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a Man not to be blam'd, who being in Years, and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous handsome young Man that she might have a Child by him, who might inherit the good Qualities of such a Father; and this Child the good Man loves as tenderly as if he was of his own getting : On the other side, a worthy Man who was in love with a married Woman upon the account of her Modesty and the well-favour'dness of her Children, might without formality beg of her Husband a Night's Lodging, that he might, like Slips of a fine Tree planted in a goodly Garden, have Children of a good race and well related. For in the first place, *Lycurgus* was of a Persuasion that Children were not so much the Propriety of their Parents, as of the whole Commonwealth; and therefore he wou'd not have 'em begot by the first Comers, but by the best Men that cou'd be found. And then the (1) Laws of other Nations seem'd to him very defective and incongruous, who were very solicitous for the breed of their Dogs and Horses, and sent a great way, and were at no small Charges to get the best Stallions, and yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear of other Men; whereas themselves were craz'd, old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate *Diseases* than their *Species*. If they had made the least Reflection in the world, they would have taken notice that the Honour and Dishonour of Children, (who

(1) The noble Sentiments of a bigotted Legislator! He made no reckoning of Modesty, nor the Sanctity of the Marriage Bed, but sacrificed every thing that was ho-

nourable and decent to his chimerical Views of the Publick Good; as if any thing that is shameful can ever be profitable.

generally

generally derive their good or ill Qualities from Those that beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to those who have the Charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, They first feel the Smart of it. Such Reasons may be alledg'd in favour of this Paradox of *Lycurgus*; but this is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observ'd, the Women were there so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, (1) that they knew not what the name of Adultery meant. A proof of This we have in *Geradas*, a very antient *Spartan*, who being asked by a Stranger, what Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers, he answer'd, *My friend, there are no Adulterers in our Country*; but, replied the Stranger, *suppose there were one*, and the Crime prov'd against him, *how would you punish him?* he answer'd, that the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might drink of the River *Eurotas* from over the top of Mount *Taygetus*. The Man being surpriz'd at This, said, *Why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull*: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'twas just as possible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*. And so much I had to say of their Marriages.

Nor was it in the Power of the Father to dispose of the Child as he thought fit, but he was oblig'd to carry it to the place (of Conference) called * *Lesche*, where some of the gravest Men of the Tribe to which the Child belong'd kept their Court, whose Business it was carefully to view the Infant, and if they found it lusty and well-favour'd,

(1) Tho' the Name might not be known, the Thing was common among them; the Name was unknown, as it carry'd with it the Notion of a Crime, but it was well enough known under a Pretence of the publick Good. It is an easy matter to make Cities virtuous if we may be allow'd at this rate to destroy the true Idea of Things, and sanctify Vice with the Name of Virtue.

they

• i.e. places
of discharge.

they gave order for its Education; and allotted to it one of the nine thousand shares of Land above mentioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deform'd, and of an ill Complexion, they ordered it to be cast into the place called * *Apothete*, which was a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*; as thinking it neither for the good of the Child it self, nor for the publick Interest, that it should be brought up, since Nature had denied it the means of Happiness in its own particular, by not giving it Health nor Strength sufficient to make it serviceable to the Publick. Upon the same account the Women did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, as is the Custom in all other Countries, but with Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies: from a Conceit they had, that weakly Children fall into Fits of Convulsion, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, Those who were of a strong and vigorous Habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like Steel in the quenching. Their Nurses too were so careful and experienc'd, that without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all streight, well proportion'd and beautiful; and besides they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the dark, or of being alone, nor to be wayward, and peevish, and crying, [as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondness of Those who look to them.] Upon this account *Spartan* Nurses were often bought up, or hir'd by People of other Countries; and it is reported that *Amycla* who suckled *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* was a *Spartan*: but if he was fortunate in his Nurse, he was not so in his School-master; for his Guardian *Pericles* (as *Plato* † tells us) chose for that Office one call'd *Zopyrus*,

† In *Alcib.*
prior.

LYCURGUS.

Zopyrus, nothing better than a Common Slave. *Lycurgus* was of another mind, he would not have Masters bought out of the Market, nor Such as should sell their pains, nor would he have any thing mercenary in so important a Charge.

Nor was it lawful for the Father himself to breed up the Children after his own Fancy; but as soon as they were seven Years old, they were to be enrol'd in certain Companies and Classes, where they all liv'd under the same Orders and Discipline, doing their Exercises, and recreating themselves together. Of These, he who shew'd the most Conduct and Courage, was made Captain; they had their Eyes always upon Him, obeyed His Orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever Punishment He inflicted: so that the whole course of their Education was one continued Exercise of a ready and perfect Obedience. The old Men too were Spectators of their Performances, and oft-times hatch'd Quarrels, and set them together by the Ears, that by those *early* Indications they might perfectly learn their Natures, and know which would be Valiant, which a Coward, when they should come to more dangerous Encounters: (1) As for Learning, they gave them just enough to serve their Turn; their chief Care was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the *Fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field.* To this end, as they grew in Years their Exercises were proportionably increas'd; their Heads were shav'd, they were accustomed to go bare-foot, and for the most part to play naked.

(1) That is, as much as was necessary for Men that had their Thoughts wholly bent upon War; for which reason all the Sciences were banish'd from *Sparta*. They had not so much as a Physician, or

Interpreter. When they had Occasion for any they sent for them from abroad; which makes *Thucydides*, speaking of *Brasidas*, say, *He spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian.*

After

The LIFE of

After they were twelve Years old, they were no longer allow'd to wear *double Garments*, one plain Coat serv'd them a whole Year: and they were none of the neatest and cleanliest Persons in the World, being but little used to bathing [and trimming] or perfuming, for such tender usage was allowed them only upon some few particular days of the year. They lodg'd together in little Bands upon Beds made of the Rushes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, and because their Points were sharp they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: if it were a hard Winter, they mingled some Thistle-down with their Rushes; this was thought sufficient to keep them warm; [and as well contented they were with it, as if it had been the best Feather-bed in the World.] By that time they were come to this Age, there was not any of the more hopeful Lads (1) who had not a Lover to bear him Company; the old Men too had an Eye upon them, coming often to the Schools to hear and see them contend either in Wit or Strength with one another: And This they did as seriously and with as much Concern as if they were their Fathers, their Tutors, or their Magistrates; so that there scarcely pass'd a moment without putting them in mind of their duty, nor was there any place so privileg'd, but that they were punish'd if they had neglected it.

(1) This was a Spiritual Love, such as was That of *Socrates* for *Alcibiades*. *Xenophon* saith, these Lovers lived with Those who were beloved by them as a Father does with his Children, or a Brother with his Brethren. I know however, adds he, there are many that will believe nothing of this, nor do I wonder at it, for the unnatural Love of Boys is become so common,

that in many Places it is authorized by the publick Laws. This judicious Writer saith, it is owing to their own Corruption, and Depravity, that they will not believe the *Spartans* can be touch'd with such a Love; and at the same time preserve that Modesty and Virtue as is pretended. This is a very remarkable as well as just way of Reasoning.

Besides

LYCURGUS.

Besides all this, there was always one of the best and honestest Men in the City appointed to undertake the Charge and Governance of them: He again rang'd them into several little Bands, and set over each of them for their Captain the discreetest and most metal'd of those they call'd *Irenes*, (who were usually twenty Years old, and those who were about eighteen were call'd *Mell-Irenes*, as much as to say, who would shortly be Men:) this young Man therefore was their Captain when they fought, and their Master at home, using them for the Offices of his House; sending the sturdiest of them to fetch Wood, and the weaker and the less able to gather Sallads and Herbs, and These they must either go without or steal them; and this they did by creeping into the Gardens, or conveying themselves very cunningly and closely into the Eating-Houses: And it concern'd them so to do, for if they were taken in the fact, they were whip'd without Mercy; and that, not for want of *Honesty*, but for want of *Wit*, because they did not lay their design well, and were not fine and cunning in their faculty. They stole too all other Meat they could lay their hands on, looking out sharp and watching all opportunities, when People were asleep or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punish'd with Whipping, but Hunger too, being reduc'd to their Ordinary, which was but very slender; and so contriv'd on purpose, that being press'd by Hunger, they might cast about to help themselves by some subtle Conveyance or adventurous Action: And this was the principal Design of their hard fare. Another there was by the bye: that they might grow the better in Tallness; for the vital Spirits not being overburden'd and oppress'd by too great a quantity of Nourishment, (which necessarily discharges it self into Thickness and

Breadth) do by their natural Lightness and Agility mount upwards, while the Body is more pliable and yielding; and this likewise is thought to give a good shape, for the more lean and slender Constitutions of body do more easily follow the *fashioning* Hand of Nature, whereas those which are gross (1) and over-fed are stubborn and untractable, [and she can at best make but a bungling piece of work of them.] This we find by Experience in (2) Women who take Physick whilst they are with Child; for tho' the Children be by that means made something leaner, and of a less size, yet are they, for the most part, lovely of Aspect, and extraordinary well shap'd; the remaining Matter, after the Separation of the grosser Humour, being more supple, and pliable, and recipient of its Form, [which is always *exact* and *perfect* in its kind, when the Matter is capable of it.] But whether this be the true Reason or not, I leave it to be further consider'd, as a point not yet determin'd.

[To return from whence we have digressed;] the *Lacedæmonian* Children were so very cautious and fearful of being discovered, that a Youth

(1) The *Lacedæmonians* were so careful in hindering their Youth from growing fat, that once in every ten days they passed naked in review before the *Ephori*, who chastised, and fin'd such as bore not their Bodies pliant, and easy. they find themselves abound in floating Humours, ought to purge in the fourth Month, and even, but more sparingly, to the seventh: but they ought to beware of Physick either at the Beginning, or when they grow near their Reckoning.

(2) Who take Physick, that is, some gentle Medicine in the third or fourth Month, at which time the *Fætus* is too young to consume in Nourishment the great Quantity of Blood that abounds in the Body. This is the Doctrine of *Hippocrates*. Aphor. 1. lib. 4. τὰς κούρας φαρμακδεῖν, ἢν ὀργᾷ, τετραμήνα, καὶ ἔχει μὲν, &c. Breeding Women if they that think *Plutarch* in this Place means any other Purgation make him mean a thing contrary to the Experience of all Physicians. Add to This an Aphorism of the same *Hippocrates* "Ἐν γυναικὶ ἐν γαστρὶ, &c. if a breeding Woman continues to have her Terms it is impossible the Embryo should be healthy.

having

having stoln a young Fox and hid it under his Coat, suffer'd it to tear out his very Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and so died upon the place, rather than he would discover it. What is practis'd to this very Day by the Youth of *Lacedamon* is enough to gain Credit to this Story, for my self have seen several of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the Altar of *Diana*, (1) fir-named *Orthia*.

The *Iren*, or under Master, us'd to stay a little with them after Supper, and One of them he bid to sing a Song: to Another he put forth a Question, which requir'd an advis'd and deliberate Answer; for example, Who was the best Man in the City? What he thought of such an action of such a Man? Using them thus early to pass a right Judgment upon Persons and Things, and to inform themselves of the Abilities or Defects of their Countrymen: if they had not an Answer ready to this question, what Citizen was of good or ill reputation, they

(1) Notice has been already taken in the Notes upon the Life of *Thesens* of this Sirname of *Diana*, to which shall be added in this place an Instance of the credulous Superstition of the Heathens. It was pretended that this *Diana* was the *Diana Taurica*, whose Statue *Orestes* and *Iphigenia* stole, and brought to *Lacedamon*. Whilst they were offering the first Sacrifice to her, after they had found her, a quarrel arose among the People assembled there on that Occasion, and a great deal of blood was shed. Upon this the Oracle was consulted, and return'd for Answer, let the Altar of the Goddess be sprinkled with Blood, which made 'em offer to her every Year a Man chosen by Lot for that

Service. At length this Custom was abolish'd by *Lycurgus*, who still to keep up to the Letter of the Oracle ordain'd that the Altar should be sprinkled with the blood of some of the Youth, who were to be whipt round it. A Woman presided at this Sacrifice, and during the whole Ceremony held in her Hands the Statue of the Goddess, which was very small and light. And yet if They who had the Whipping of the Children spared any of them in respect to their Beauty, or their Birth, the Statue grew so heavy that the Priestess cou'd not support it. This *Diana* was likewise called *Orthosia*, and her Feast was named *Διαμυσίωσις*, the Flagellation.

were look'd upon as of a *dull and careless Disposition*, and to have little or no Sense of Virtue and Honour : besides This, they were to give a good Reason for their answer, and in as few words and as comprehensive as might be. He that failed of This, or answered not to the purpose (instead of a Ferula) had his Thumb bit by the *Iren*. It so fell out oftentimes that the *Iren* did This in the presence of the old Men and Magistrates, that they might see whether he punished them justly and in due measure or not : and tho' he did amiss, they would not reprove him before his Scholars, (lest it should diminish their respect to him) but when they were gone, he himself was call'd to an account, and underwent a Correction too, if he had run far into either of the Extreame of Indulgence or Severity.

It is a thing remarkable, that (1) their *Lovers* had a share in the young Lad's Honour or Disgrace :

(1) To the Lovers they imputed the Virtues, or the Vices, which were observ'd in Those they loved; they commended Them if the Lads were virtuous and sin'd them if they were otherwise. They likewise sin'd Those, who had no Lovers at All. And here we may observe *Lycurgus* did not Copy this Institution from the Practice observ'd in *Crete*, thinking without Doubt such an Example of too dangerous a Tendency. That We may be the better able to judge of his Prudence and Caution in this Point, let us see what *Strabo* writes concerning this Custom of the *Candiots* in his 10th Book. When any one fell in love with a Youth in *Crete*, he acquainted the Youth's Friends three or four days beforehand, that at such a time

he intended to run away with him. Those Friends of His would have done a very shameful Thing had they upon this Notice either conceal'd the Youth, or hinder'd him from going abroad as usual. This would be to disgrace him, as if they thought him unworthy the Honour that was going to be done to him. The day being come, if the Lover was of as good or better Fashion than the Youth, they only made a shew of Resistance, pursuing him in form till he was got to the Place where he used to take his Repast; but if he was of an inferior Condition they forced him from him. The Ravisher after having made very rich Presents to his Beloved carry'd him into the Country with all his Friends that had accompanied him, where, after they had spent

grace : and there goes a Story, that one of them was fined by the Magistrates, because the Lad whom he lov'd cry'd out effeminately as he was fighting, (by the way, so much in fashion was this sort of love among them, that the most stay'd and virtuous Matrons would own publickly their passion to a modest and beautiful Virgin.) And tho' several mens fancies met in one person, yet did not this cause any Strangeness or Jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all jointly conspir'd to render the belov'd Boy the most accomplish'd in the World.

They taught them also a natural and graceful way of speaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffensive Raillery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words. For *Lycurgus*, who ordered that a great piece of Money (as is already observ'd) should be but of an inconsiderable Value, on the contrary, would allow no Discourse to be *current*, which did not contain in few words a great deal of useful and weighty Sense : Contriving that Children by a habit of long Silence and Meditation, should have such a Presence and Quickness of Mind as to give very surprizing Answers, and oft-times speak Apothegms to the astonishment of the Hearers ; whereas the Incontinence of the Tongue,

two Months in hunting, and Feasting, they all return'd into the City. Among the other valuable Presents given by the Lover to his Beloved, there was to be a warlike Habit, a Goblet, and an Ox. The Youth sacrificed the Ox to *Jupiter*, and invited all Those that had accompanied him to an Entertainment, where he publickly declared if he was pleas'd or displeas'd with his Ravisher, who, if he had misbehaved himself, was by the Law

to be punished, and forsaken. Those who were in this Manner stoln away, were ever after held in the highest Esteem, had the first Places in all their Assemblies, wore the warlike Habit their Lovers had given them, and were dignified with the Title of *Cleimoi*, that is *illustrious*. They did not make Choice of the most beautiful for their Lovers, but the most valiant, and modest.

like the other sort of Incontinence, frustrates the ends of speaking, as That does of Generation. From hence the Pithiness of the *Laconian* Speech; an Instance of which we have in King *Agis*, who when a pert *Athenian* laugh'd at their short Swords, and said *that the Jugglers and Mountebanks swallow'd such upon the Stage*, answer'd him, *And yet (1) short as they are, we can give our Enemies a home thrust with them*; and as their Swords were short and sharp, so were their Sayings: and truly in my judgment there is in this concise way of Speech, something which flies level to the mark, and strikes into the very heart of Those that hear it. *Lycurgus*, [who enjoined this manner of speaking] was himself very short and sententious, if we may judge by what we find related of him; as that about Government, in Answer to One who by all means would have a popular Government in *Lacedæmon*: *Begin Friend*, said he, *and make a Tryal of it in thy own Family*: Or That about Sacrifices to Another, who ask'd him why he allow'd of so mean and trivial Sacrifices to the Gods? he reply'd, *That we may always have something to offer to them*: Or That, when being ask'd, what sort of martial Exercises or Combates he approv'd of, he answer'd, *all sorts, except that in which you † stretch out your hands*. Many Sayings of the like force are to be found in the Letters which he occasionally wrote to his Country-men; as being consulted how they might best oppose an Invasion of their Enemies, return'd this Answer, *By continuing poor, and not coveting to have One more than Another*. Being consulted again, whether it were requisite to enclose the City with a Wall, he sent 'em word, *That City is well fortified which hath a Wall of Men instead of Brick*. But as for these Letters, whether they be counterfeit or not,

† the Form
of crying
Quarter a-
mong the
Ancients.

(1) The Greek is here *μᾶλιν ἐφικνέμεθα*, but in the *Apothegms* it is *μάλιστα*, which is the truer reading.

I think it no easy matter to determine, and therefore let every man think as he pleases : But that they were indeed Enemies to Talkativeness, these following Instances are an authentick and sufficient Proof. King *Leonidas* told One who held him in Discourse upon some useful things, and worthy his hearing, but not in due time and place, *Sir, you are impertinent for speaking in this place so much to the purpose.* King *Charilaus*, the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, being ask'd why his Uncle had made so few Laws, answer'd, *To Men of few Words few Laws are sufficient.* One blam'd *Hecateus* the Orator, because that being invited to the Publick Entertainment, he had not spoke one word all Supper-time: *Archidamus* answer'd in his Vindication, *He who can speak well knows also when to speak.*

I will now give an Instance or two of their sharp Repartees, which, as I said before, had a sort of Pleasantness with them, which made them to be the better excus'd. *Damaratus* being ask'd, in an (1) abusive manner by an importunate Fellow, Who was the best Man in *Lacedæmon*? answered him, *He, Sir, that is the least like you.* Some, in Company where *Agis* was, much extoll'd the exact Justice of the *Eleans*, who sat as Judges at the Olympick Games; *Is it such a great matter*, says, *Agis, if they can do Justice once in the space of five Years?* *Theopompus* answered a Stranger, who brag'd that he was so much taken notice of for his love to the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Countrymen from thence call'd him * *φιλολάων*, that it had been more for his Honour if they had call'd him || *φιλοπολίτης*. And *Plisfonax*, the Son of *Pausanias*, when an Orator of *Athens* said the *Lacedæmonians* were an illiterate and ignorant People, told him, *You say true, Sir, for We only of all the*

* A lover of the *Lacedæmonians*.

|| A lover of his own Countrymen.

(1) He seems to allude to the Questions which us'd to be put to the young Lads, as, Who is the best man in *Sparta*?

Q 3

Græcians

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Græcians *have learned none of your Ill Conditions.* One asked *Archidamidas* what number of fighting Men there might be of the *Spartans*, he answered, *Enough, Sir, to drive out the wicked.*

We may guess too at their manner of speaking by their very Jest. For they us'd not to throw them out at random, but the very Wit of them was grounded upon some considerable sense. For instance, one being ask'd to go hear a Man who exactly counterfeited the Voice of a Nightingale, answered, *Sir, I have heard the Nightingale it self.* Another having read this following Inscription upon a Tomb,

Extinguishing a cruel Tyranny

At Selinum did these brave Patriots die :

made this clinch upon it, that they well deserved to die, for instead of *extinguishing* the Tyranny they should have let it *burn out*. A Lad being offer'd some Cocks of the Game so hardy that they would die upon the place, said, that *he car'd not for Cocks that would die hardy, but for Such as would live and kill others.* Another would by no means be carried home in a Chair, as he saw some Others were, because, said he, *I cannot conveniently rise in it to pay Respect to my Betters.* In short, their Answers were so sententious and pertinent, that one said well, that to act like a *Lacedemonian* was rather acting like a Philosopher than a lover of bodily Exercise. [For tho' they were a very active People, they exercised their Minds much more than their Bodies.]

Nor were they less careful to sing and compose well, than to express themselves in proper Terms and to speak to the *Point* : And their very Song had such a Life and Spirit in them, that they enflam'd and ravish'd Mens Minds with a desire to

do great and good Actions; the style of them was plain and without Affectation; the subject always serious and moral: most usually it was in *praise* of such Men as had dy'd in the *Bed of Honour* for defence of their Country, or in *Derision* of those who would not venture their Lives willingly in so good a Cause. The former they declar'd happy, and almost Gods; and the latter they describ'd as most miserable, and below the Condition of Men. In these Verses too they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted of themselves as the bravest and most valiant People in the World, in expressions suitable to their several Ages, of which it may not be amiss to give one instance for a Sample: for you must understand that they had three Choirs of them in their solemn Festivals, the first of the old Men, the second of the young Men, and the last of the Children: The old Men began thus,

*We have been young (tho' now grown old)
Hardy in Field, in Battel Bold.*

The young Men answer'd them, singing,

*We are so now: let who dares try,
We'll conquer, or in Combat die.*

The Children came last, and said,

*Whatever ye can * do or † tell,
We one Day will you both excel.*

* To the
young men
† To the
old men.

Indeed if we take the pains to consider their poetical Compositions (some of which are still preserved) and the Airs on the Flute to which they were set when they march'd to Battle, we shall

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shall find that (1) *Terpander* and *Pindar* had reason to say that Musick was not incompatible with, but rather an help and incentive to Valour. The first says thus of them;

*Justice goes in procession through their Streets,
And Mars the Muses in sweet consort meets.*

And *Pindar* —————

*Blest Sparta! in whose State we find
Things almost inconsistent join'd :
In quiet times your Martial-toils not cease,
And War's adorn'd with the soft arts of Peace.
Gray-headed Wisdom reigns in your Debates,
And well-bred Youth, with equal Fire,
Handle their Arms, or touch their Lyre :
Ye Gods, the Musick of well-order'd States !*

So that these two Poets describe the *Spartans* as being no less Musical than Warlike, and the *Spartan* Poet himself confirms it :

*Our Sports prelude to War, and Musick's Charms
Inspire deliberate Valour to our Arms.*

And even before they engag'd in Battle, (2) the King did first sacrifice to the Muses (in all likelihood)

(1) He was a very good Poet, and as able a Musician. He added three Strings to the Harp, which till then had but four. He flourish'd about a Hundred. and twenty Years after *Homer*.

(2) The King who had the Command of the Army, before he quitted his Palace in order to put himself at the Head of his

Troops, offer'd in it a Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Conductor, and the other Celestial Deities. If the Omens were favourable he caus'd a Herald to take some of the Fire from off the Altar, and bear it before the Troops in their March. When he was arriv'd upon the Frontier he then offer'd another Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*. These

hood) to put them in mind of the manner of their Education, and of the severe Judgment that would be pass'd upon their Actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of some gallant Exploit. Sometimes too the *Lacedæmonians* abated a little the severity of their Discipline in favour of their young Men, suffering them to curl and perfume their Hair, and to have costly Arms and fine Clothes; and as well pleas'd they were to see them marching out full of Metal and Spirit to an Engagement, as the other *Græcians* were to see their trim'd Horses neighing, and pressing for the * Course. And therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads, they took a great deal of care of their Hair, to have it parted and trim'd, especially against a Day of Battle, pursuant to a Saying of their Law-giver, that a large Head of Hair set off a good Face to more advantage, and Those that were ugly it made more ugly and dreadful.

* He alludes to the Olympick Games.

When they were in the Army their Exercises were generally more moderate, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a Hand held over them by their Officers, so that they were the only People in the World to whom *War* gave repose. When their Army was drawn up in Battle-array, and the Enemy near, (1) the King sacrificed a Goat, commanded the Soldiers to set their Garlands upon their Heads, and the Pipers to play the Tune of the Hymn to *Castor*; and himself advancing forwards, began the *Pæan*, which serv'd for a signal to fall on. It was at once a delightful and terrible fight to see them march on to the Tune of their Flutes, without

These are the only Sacrifices mention'd by *Xenophon*, who wou'd not have forgot That to the Muses, if it had been a Rule to offer such a one before an Engagement. *Plutarch* repeats the same thing

twice in his Morals. It is very likely the Muses were joined with *Minerva*.

(1) This was done in Imitation of *Hercules*, who had perform'd the like Sacrifice to *Juno*.

ever

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ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks, no disorder in their Minds or change in their Countenance, but on they went to the hazard of their lives as unconcernedly and cheerfully, as if it had been to lead up a Dance, or to hear a Consort of Musick. Men in this temper were not likely to be possessed with *Fear*, or transported with *Fury*, but they proceeded with a *deliberate Valour*, full of hope and good assurance, as if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them. When the King went against the Enemy, he had always about his Person some one who had been crown'd in the Olympick Games; and upon this account a *Lacedæmonian* refus'd a considerable Present, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the Lifts; and having with much to do thrown his Antagonist, some of the Spectators said to him, And now, Sir *Lacedæmonian*, what are you the better for your Victory? he answered smiling, O, a great deal, Sir, *for I shall have the Honour to fight by the side of my Prince*. After they had routed an Enemy, they pursu'd him till they were well assured of the Victory, and then they founded a Retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a *Græcian* People, to kill and cut Men in pieces who durst not look them in the Face, or lift up their Hands against them. This manner of dealing did not only shew their magnanimity, but had a politick advantage in it too; for the Enemy knowing that they kill'd only Those who made resistance, and gave Quarter to the Rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by flight. *Hippias* the Sophist says, (1) that *Lycurgus* himself was

(1) *Xenophon* is of the same military Discipline to Perfection, Opinion, for he tells us in his and that his Inventions of that Treatise of the *Spartan* Commonwealth were of more Use than any of Those that had preceded him; and

was a very valiant and experienced Commander.

(1) *Philostephanus* attributes to him the first division of the Cavalry into * Troops of fifties in a square Body: but *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* says quite the contrary, that he never was concerned in any warlike Engagement, but that he made all his Laws in a continued Peace. And indeed the Ordinance for Cessation of arms during the *Olympick* Games, procured by his means and management, inclines me to think him a good-natur'd Man, and one that lov'd Quietness and Peace. Notwithstanding all this, *Hernippus* tells us, he had no Hand in that Ordinance, nor any Communication with *Iphitus* at first, but came only as a Spectator, and that by mere accident too. But that being there he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondring at him that he did not encourage his Countrymen to resort to so Illustrious an Assembly; turning about and seeing no Man, he concluded it was a Voice from Heaven, and thereupon immediately went to *Iphitus*, and was assistant to him in ordering the Ceremonies of that Feast, which by his means were better establish'd, more famous and magnificent than before that time they were.

* ἑλαμοί, Twelve in a side, the Captain and Lieutenant excepted.

To return to the *Lacedæmonians*. Their Discipline and Order of Life continued still after they were full grown Men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy; but the whole City resembled a great Camp, in which every Man had his share of Provisions, and Business set out, and

and I wonder *Plutarch* takes no Notice here of what that Historian saith concerning the Method observed by *Lycurgus* for subsisting his Troops, his Order of Battle, his Marches, Attacks, Incampments, &c. I know not whether this *Hippias* the Sophist be the

same with *Hippias Eliensis*, or *Hippias Erythraeus*.

(1) He was of *Cyrene*, and flourish'd in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. He wrote a History of *Epire*, a Treatise of wonderful Rivers, Another of Inventions, and a Third of the Isles.

look'd upon himself not so much born to serve his own Ends as the Interest of his Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing else, they went to see the Lads perform their Exercises, to teach them something useful, or to learn it themselves of Those who were older [and knew better.] And here I cannot but declare my Opinion, that one of the greatest Blessings *Lycurgus* procur'd to his People was, (1) the abundance of leisure, which proceeded from his forbidding to them the Exercise of any mean and mechanical Trade; for it was but lost labour to waste themselves with Anxiety and Toil, to heap together a great deal of riches, which when they had got was but useless lumber and of no value: for the *Ilotes* till'd their Ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mention'd, without any trouble of theirs. To this purpose there goes a Story of a *Lacedæmonian*, who happen'd to be at *Athens* in Assizes time, where he heard that a Citizen, who had been punish'd for *Idleness*, came home much discontented, attended by his friends who were grieved for him, and took his case much to heart: the *Lacedæmonian* [was much surpriz'd at it, and] desired the Company to shew him the man who was condemn'd for *living like a Gentleman*: (2) so much beneath them they esteemed all mechanical Employments, and the care of heaping up Riches.

(1) The Leisure *Plutarch* means does not imply that they led the Life of Idleness, but that being under no necessity of doing any thing that is mercenary or base, they employ'd themselves in honourable Exercises, in such as serv'd to make them more healthy and more virtuous.

(2) *Socrates* was of a quite

contrary Opinion, for he believ'd there was nothing in the Arts and Mechanicks unbecoming a Gentleman, and in which he might not exercise himself towards the supplying his own Wants, or assisting in the Necessities of Others; and indeed nothing is more true.

I need not tell you that upon the prohibition of Gold and Silver all Law-suits immediately ceas'd, for there was now no such thing among them as having too much, or wanting necessaries, but an Equality in plenty, and no great trouble to provide what frugality made so cheap. All their time (except when they were in the Field) was taken up in dancing, in feasting, in their exercises, and hunting matches, or † places where good company us'd to meet. Those who were under thirty years of age were not allow'd to go into the Market-place, but had the necessaries of their Family supply'd by the care of their Relations and Lovers: nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be seen too often in the Market-place; it was esteem'd more honourable for Them to frequent the Academies and places of Conversation, where they discours'd agreeably, not about the interest of Mony, and matters of common traffick: but the great business of this Conversation was [gravely to pass their judgment on some action worth considering;] to extol the Good, and blame Those who were otherwise, and that in a facetious way; so that the *Feather* of the Jest made the *Arrow* pierce the deeper, and left some useful remark or correction behind it. Nor was *Lycurgus* himself fullen and cynically grave, but on the contrary (1) *Sosibius* relates, that it was He who dedicated a little Statue to the God of Laughter, introducing into their common Entertainments and other places of Conversation a seasonable Mirth, to make their Exercise and spare Diet relish the better. To conclude this, he bred up his Citizens in such sort, that they neither *would*, nor *could* live by themselves, but endeavouring to incorporate them all

† These
were call'd
λῆγας.

(1) *Sosibius* was a Grammarian of *Lacedamon*. He wrote a Book of Chronology, and was cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

together,

together, like *swarms* of Bees in a cluster about their *King*; wholly divesting themselves of their own narrow interests, and forgetting themselves by the continual ecstacy they were in to promote the publick Interests and Honour. What their Sentiments were will better appear by a few of their Sayings. *Pædaretus* not being admitted into the List of the (1) Three hundred, return'd home very joyful and well pleas'd; saying, *That it did his heart good to find that there were in Sparta three hundred better men than himself.* And *Pisistratidas* being sent with some others Ambassador to the Lords Lieutenants of the King of *Persia*, being ask'd by them, Whether they came of their own accord, or were sent by the State? answered, *That if they obtain'd what they came for, they were commission'd by the Publick; if not, they came of themselves.* *Argileonis*, the Mother of *Brasidas*, asking some strangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her Son (2) *Brasidas* dy'd courageously, and as became a *Spartan*, they fell a praising him to a high degree, and said, There is not such another left in *Sparta*: She took them up short, and said, *Hold, Gentlemen, Brasidas indeed was a valiant Man, but there are still in Sparta many better men than he.*

The Senate (as I said before) consisted at first of those who were his chief aiders and assistants in the forming of the Government, and the vacancies he ordered to be supply'd out of the best and most deserving men who were full threescore years

(1) *Xenophon* says it was the Custom for the *Ephori* to appoint three Officers, and Each of these Three were to pick out an hundred men of the very best they could find, and it was a point of great Emulation to be one of these 300 Choice Men; for this, as *Plutarch* elsewhere says,

was the first degree of honour in the City.

(2) *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* General defeated the *Athenians* in a Battle fought near *Amphipolis* a Town of *Macedonia* on the Banks of the *Strymon*, but fell himself in the Action.

old: and we need not wonder if there was much striving and stickling for it; for what more glorious competition could there be among men than this, in which it was not * disputed, who should bear away the prize of swiftness, or strength, (1) but who was the wisest and most virtuous man in the City, to whom should be intrusted for ever after (as the reward of his merits) the Power and Authority of the whole Common-wealth, and in whose hands should be deposited the Honour, the Lives and Fortunes of all his Country-men. The manner of their Election was as follows: (2) The People being called together, some persons deputed by the Senate, were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was so contriv'd that they could neither see nor be seen by the Competitors or People, but only hear the noise of the Assembly without. (For they decided this, as most other Affairs of moment, by the shouts of the People.) This done, (3) the Competitors were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another, as by lot fell out, and through the Assembly they pass'd in order without speaking a Word. Those who were lock'd up, had writing

* As it was in the Olympick Games.

(1) *Plutarch* has taken this Thought from *Xenophon*, It is said he, the highest, and most glorious Contention Men can exercise themselves in. The Gymnastick Combats are certainly very fine, but there the Body only is concern'd; but in those Contentions, which relate to the Choice of a Senator Those may be call'd the Combats of the Soul, and do as far excell the Other, as the Soul is more excellent than the Body.

(2) This Manner of Election has been very much expos'd by *Aristotle*, who calls it Childish

and very dangerous to the State; because it led the Citizens to be ambitious, and because generally speaking the greatest Calamities that can befall a Community arise from the Avarice or Ambition of Those that compose it.

(3) This likewise has been very much condemn'd by *Aristotle*, who was not for allowing Those who deserv'd Employments to be contending for them, but that on the contrary they should be forced by the Publick into an Acceptance of them; and he was very much in the right.

Tables

old:

Tables with them, in which they set down (1) the number of the Shouts and the greatness of them, without knowing to which of the Candidates each of them were made, only that it was to the First, Second, or Third, and so in Order as they were brought in. But He who was found to have the most and loudest Acclamations, was declar'd *Senator* duly elected. Upon this he had a Garland set upon his head, and went in procession to all the Temples to give thanks to the Gods: a great number of young men followed him, making the Streets to echo with his praises: The young Ladies too sung Verses in his honour, and a blessed man they call'd Him who had led so virtuous a Life. As he went round the City in this manner, each of his Relations invited him to a handsom Supper, saying, *The City honours you with this Banquet*: but he, instead of accepting their Invitation, returned to the common Table, where he formerly us'd to eat, and was serv'd as before, excepting that now he had a (2) *second mess* allowed him, which he set by. By that time Supper was ended, all the Women who were of kin to him were got about the Hall-door; and he beckoning to Her whom he most esteem'd, presented to her the Portion he had sav'd, saying withal, *This was given me to-day as a reward of my Virtue, I present it to you as an acknowledgment of yours*: upon This She was triumphantly waited upon home by the Women, as he was by the Men.

(1) But it often happen'd that it was almost impossible to determine who had the most Voices, in which Case they were forced to have recourse to other Expedients, as it once fell out on a very important Occasion, which was in the Election of *Sthenelai-*

das for one of the *Ephori*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1.

(2) This was the manner of the Eastern Countries to express their respect to any one, and from them probably the *Gracians* took it.

As touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made very wise Orders: for first of all, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd them to bury their dead (1) within the City, and to have their Tombs near the Temples, to the end that their Youth might be used to such Spectacles, and not be afraid, nor have any such dreadful Aversion to Death as to fancy that touching a Corps, or treading upon a Grave, would defile a Man. In the next place he commanded them to put nothing else into the Ground with them; only they wound up the body in red Cloth, with a few (2) Branches or Leaves of Olive. He would not [allow of *Talkative Grave-stones*, nor] suffer so much as the names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who dy'd in the Wars, or Women who were profess'd of some Religious Order. The time too appointed for Mourning was very short; for it lasted but eleven days, and on the twelfth they were to do Sacrifice to *Ceres*, and leave off their Mourning: so that we may see as he cut off every thing that was idle and impertinent, so in things necessary there was nothing so small and trivial which had not some profitable Lesson and Instruction in it, and caus'd an emulation of Virtue or hatred to Vice. All *Lacedæmon* [was like a great Volume, every Leaf of which] was fill'd with good Rules, and great Examples: which presenting themselves at all times and in all places to their thoughts, did insensibly *assimilate* the minds of the lookers-on, and force them to imitate That always which they could not but meet with every where.

And this was the reason why he would not allow All that pleased, to go abroad, and to travel into foreign Countries, *viz.* lest they should bring

(1) Other People generally of burning them.

buried them without their Walls. (2) To intimate that then they and long after took up the custom are in peace, and at rest.

in foreign Manners and Customs along with them, and follow the fashions of such as had been spoil'd by ill Education, and affect different Models of Government. Withal he banished all Strangers from *Lacedæmon* who could not give a very good reason for their coming thither; not because he was afraid (as *Thucydides* would have it believed) lest they should inform themselves of and imitate his manner of Government, or learn any thing which might improve their Valour and Virtue; but rather lest they should introduce something contrary to good manners: for strange Persons bring usually strange Discourse along with them, That produces new Thoughts and Persuasions, and from different Opinions arise many strange passions and inclinations, which make discord, and as it were destroy the harmony of Conversation and civil Society; and therefore as careful he was, for fear of corrupting the City, to keep out all foreign customs, as men usually are to keep out suspected persons in the time of a reigning Pestilence.

Hitherto, (1) I for my part can see no sign of injustice or want of equity [in the Constitutions of this Commonwealth,] (2) which is the thing that

(1) Therefore he approves their murdering their Infants,

(2) *Plato* in his first Book *de Legibus*, *Aristotle* in his second and seventh Books of *Politicks*, and *Polybins* in the sixth of his *History*, have reproach'd *Lycurgus* for that his Laws were more adapted to make men valiant than to make them just. *Plutarch* is for justifying *Lycurgus*, and taking his Part against the Censures of those great Men, but he does it after a very weak manner. The Defect in *Lycurgus* his Scheme did not

appear precisely in this or that particular Law, but ran through the whole System. It is indeed a good Thing to render a People warlike, but they ought to be taught at the same time that War is never to be undertaken but for the sake of Peace; that is, they ought to be just as well as valiant, and for This *Lycurgus* made no manner of Provision. So that his Commonwealth subsisted no longer than whilst they had Neighbours about them to be subdued; but when they had brought all into sub-

jection,

that some blame in the Laws of *Lycurgus*, who say they are very well contriv'd to make Men good Soldiers, but exceedingly defective in civil Justice and Honesty. But as for the (1) *Ambuscade* (if it were one of *Lycurgus's* Institutions, as *Aristotle* says it was) it might well enough give even *Plato* likewise the same conceit both of the Law-giver and his Government. The thing was this: Those who had the care of the young men, dispatch'd from time to time some of the ablest of them into the Country at random, arm'd only with their Daggers, and taking a little necessary provision with them; These in the day-time hid themselves in the Thickets and Clefts, and there lay close, but in the night they issued out into the High-ways and kill'd all the *Ilotes* they could light upon: sometimes they set upon them by day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murdered the ablest and stoutest of them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* also, in his History of the *Peloponnesian* War, relates; where he tells us, that Such of them as the *Lacedaemonians* had singled out for their Valour, were crowned by Proclamation, as Persons enfranchis'd [for their good services;] and went about to all the Temples in token of Freedom; but that soon after they all disappeared on a sudden, being about the number of two thousand; and no man neither then nor since could give an account how they came by their deaths. And *Aristotle* particularly says, that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were entered into their Office, us'd to declare war against them, that they might be massacred with a pretence of Law. It is confess'd on all hands, that the Spar-

jection, Life became a sort of least Notion.

burden to them, they had no Relish of that Repose, to which they had never been accusom'd, and of which they had not the

(3) *Κρυπταί*, mention'd by *Plato* in his first Book de Legib. p. 633.

* Lacedæ-
monian
Poets.

tans dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might see what a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken Man is: they made them sing such Songs, and dance such Dances, as were uncomely and ridiculous, forbidding them expressly to meddle with any that were fit for a Freeman, [for they would not have them profaned by their Mouths.] Upon this account when the *Thebans* made an Invasion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Ilotes* Prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to sing the Odes of * *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spondon*; for (said they) they are our Master's Songs, we dare not sing them. So that they seem to have understood the difference of States very well, who say, that in *Sparta* he who was free was the most free, and he that was a Slave there was the greatest Slave in the World. For my part, I am of Opinion that these Outrages and Cruelties began to be exercis'd in *Sparta* long after the time of *Lycurgus*, namely, (1) soon after the great Earthquake, at which time the *Ilotes* made a general Insurrection, and, joining with the *Messenians*, laid the whole Country waste, and brought the City to the greatest extremity it had ever been reduc'd to: For I cannot be persuaded that ever *Lycurgus* invented or put in force so wicked and barbarous an Act as this of the *Am-*

(1) This Earthquake happen'd in his 11th Book gives us in the first Year of the 78th Olympiad, when *Archidamus* the Son of *Xeuxidamus* was King, the Year *Socrates* was born, and about 467 Years before the Birth of Christ; there perish'd in it above twenty thousand *Spartans*. *Plutarch* mentions it in his Life of *Cimon*, and *Diodorus Siculus* a Description both of the Earthquake, and the War that follow'd it. However *Ælian* saith in so many Words that this Earthquake was the Effect of divine Vengeance, and a Judgment on the *Spartans* for their Barbarity to the *Ilotes* of *Tanarus*.

buscade was, especially when I look back upon the Gentleness of his Disposition, and his unprejudic'd Justice upon all other occasions; [not to say that it were a piece of high *Impiety* to think hard of him, since * even a God hath given so great a Character of his Virtue.

* The Oracle above-mention'd.

[To draw now towards the last Scenes of his Life] When the principal part of his Laws had taken such deep root in the Minds of his Countrymen, that Custom had rendred them familiar, and the Commonwealth was now, by his nursing, pretty well grown up, and able to go alone and take care of its self; Then (1) as *Plato* somewhere tells us, that the Maker of the World, when he had finish'd and set this *great Machine* a moving, and found every thing exactly to answer his *great Idea*, had a calm Joy and Contentation of Mind: So *Lycurgus* felt a wonderful Pleasure in the Contemplation of the *Greatness* and *Beauty* of his Legal Oeconomy, every of which was now set to work, and moved on in due Order; and at last he conceived a vast Thought to make it *immortal* too, and as far as Human Forecast could reach, to deliver it down *unchangeable* to Posterity. To bring this to pass, he called an extraordinary Assembly of all the People, he told them that he now thought every thing reasonably well establish'd, both for the Publick Happiness, and improving

(1) It is in his *Timaeus*, where that Philosopher saith that when God had created the World, saw it move, as alive, and almost in every thing resembling the immortal Gods, he was delighted with it, and was desirous to render it still more conformable to his eternal Idea; but it being impossible to communicate Eternity to a created Being, he did,

as by way of Expedient, create, as it were, a moving Image of Eternity; by which he meant Time, which, it being impossible for it to subsist but in Motion, it cou'd not consequently have any Subsistence before the Creation. It is very easy to find out in this Passage what *Moses* said of God on that Occasion.

the virtue of each Particular; but that there was one thing still behind, and that of the greatest Importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had consulted the Oracle: In the mean time his Desire was, that they would punctually observe his Laws without any the least alteration until his *Return* from *Delphi*, and then he would do as the God should direct him. They all consented readily, and pray'd him to hasten his Voyage; but before he departed he administered an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate, and then to all the Commons, that they would inviolably observe his Ordinances during his absence. This done, he set sail for *Delphi*; when he came to the Oracle, and had sacrific'd to *Apollo*, he ask'd him, *Whether the Laws he had establish'd were sufficient to make a City virtuous and happy?* The Oracle answer'd, *That his Laws were excellent, and that the City should continue in the highest renown while it observed the Polity of Lycurgus.* He took this Oracle in writing, and sent it over to *Sparta*: and then, having sacrific'd the second time to *Apollo*, and taken his leave of his Friends, and his Son, he resolv'd that the *Spartans* should never be releas'd from the Oath they had taken, but that there he would put a voluntary end to his life, being now about that Age (1) in which Life was still agreeable, and yet a *wise Man* might quit it without Regret; especially when he consider'd, *That Death then comes seasonably when Life is at the best.* He therefore made an end of himself (2) by a total Abstinence

(1) It appears by this Passage that he could not be so old as *Lucian* makes him, for he saith he was fourscore and five Years old when he died. At that Age any man may quit Life without

Regret, but no wise man will be thought to be fond of it.

(2) How is it to be believ'd that a Man so prudent in all other Respects should be so far over- seen as to put an End to his Be- ing

Abstinence from Meat, [and even dying set a Copy of *Temperance* to his Countrymen;] for he thought Statesmen and good Patriots should serve their Country with their last Breath, and that the end of their Lives should be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before, but make a part in the Character of a virtuous and active man; [especially since all Men have a Curiosity to know the End of great Personages, and believe most firmly, and remember *longest*, what they *did* or *said* dying:] and in This he had a double end, the One to secure and crown his own Happiness, by a Death suitable to so honourable a Life; and the Other, that it might be a Seal and Confirmation of his Laws, especially (1) since his Countrymen had solemnly sworn the Observation of them until his Return. (2) Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectations, for the City of *Lacedæmon* continued the chief City of all *Greece*, both in respect of good Government at home and Reputation abroad, for

ing out of political Views, and that the rather because there was no manner of Necessity for it? For his Absence would have had the same effect at *Sparta* with his Death. I am very much inclin'd to question the Truth of this Tradition. He is not the only great Man on whom notorious Falshoods have been father'd.

(1) It might be said that this Oath was binding only to Those that made it, and that their Children were not tied to an Observance of it; so that it was to continue in Force no longer than during that Generation. But *Lycurgus* insisted that it was to be perpetual, and to descend in a constant Succession from Father to Son.

(2) *Plutarch* attributes the Du-

ration of *Lycurgus* his Institution to the Oath taken by the *Lacedæmonians*; but I think he is mistaken. It is rather owing to This, that the *Spartans* for a long time had no Wars but in *Peloponnesus*. But as soon as their Thirst of Empire had inspired them with a design of having naval Forces, and entertaining foreign Troops, and there was a Necessity of foreign Money to pay them, then their Oath avail'd no more against that Necessity than if it had been a Spider's Web; they did not so much as remember any such had ever been taken. Then were the Laws of *Lycurgus* violated with a Vengeance, *Sparta* had Recourse to the King of *Persia*, and That was the Cause of her Downfall.

the space of five hundred Years, mainly by their strict Observance of *Lycurgus's* Laws; in all which time there was no manner of alteration made during the Reign of fourteen Kings, from Him to the time of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus*. For the new Creation of the *Ephori* (1) proved rather an enforcement than relaxation of the discipline of the City, who, though they were thought to be chosen in favour of the People, were so far from diminishing, that they very much confirm'd the Power of the Senate.

In the Reign of *Agis* Money first found a way into *Sparta*, and together with it came in likewise a greedy desire and immoderate love of Riches, which disorder was much promoted by *Alexander*, or rather by *Lyfander*, who by (2) bringing in plenty of Gold and Silver from the Wars, altho' himself was above being Corrupted with Money, yet by this means he fill'd his Country with Avarice and Luxury, directly against the Laws and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; which so long as they were in force, *Sparta* resembled some holy Personage or particular Philosopher [so unanimous they were, and, as it were, acted by one Soul] rather than a great Commonwealth and Metropolis of an Empire. And as the Poets feign of *Hercules*, that with his Lion's Skin and his Club he went over the World, punishing the wicked and extir-

(1) *Tribunes* too were establish'd at *Rome* to maintain the Privileges of the People, but in time they prov'd the ruin of the Popular Government.

(2) When *Lyfander* had taken *Athens* he carry'd into *Sparta* a great many rich Spoils, and four hundred and seventy Talents of Silver. *Xenoph.* lib. 2. This had a very pernicious Consequence, for all the *Greek* Historians agree that

from this time *Sparta* began to decline; and This is what *Aristotle* means when in his seventh Book of Politicks he saith that *Lycurgus* committed a fatal oversight when he suited all his Law to War only, and Victory, the ill Effects of which had been not long before sufficiently experienced. He means the Disorders, which were the Consequence of *Lyfander's* Victory.

pating

pating Tyrants ; so may it be said of the *Lacedæmonians*, that (1) with a piece of Parchment and a plain Frieze Coat, they gained the Sovereignty of *Greece*, and (which is more) their *Affections* too ; (2) they deposed all usurped Powers and tyrannical Governments, determined Wars by their Authority, and composed Civil Differences or Seditions : and this they often did, without so much as taking their Buckler in their hand, but barely by sending some *plain Man*, without *Attendance*, who went under the Character of the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassador ; and they swarm'd about him at his coming, like Bees about their King, and immediately composed themselves into good Order : so remarkably eminent for good Government and exact Justice was this illustrious Commonwealth, above others.

And therefore I cannot but wonder at those who say, that the *Spartans* were good and obedient Subjects, but not skill'd in the Art of Governing ; and for Proof of it alledge a Saying of King *Theopompus*, who when one said that *Sparta* held up so long, because their Kings *could command well*, reply'd, Nay, rather, because *the People know so well how to obey* : For indeed *those who cannot command wisely*, are seldom or never well serv'd ;

(1) This is what they call'd the *Scytale*, which was a long narrow slip of Skin, or Parchment, which they wound about a Staff in so regular a Manner that every Part of it was cover'd. Upon This they wrote their Orders, and when they had done they unwound it, and sent it to the General, to whom it was directed. The General had another Staff exactly of the same size, to which he apply'd the Parchment in the same Manner it had been

done to the Other, and by that means found out the Connection, and the Relation the Characters had one to the Other ; till he had done which they were unintelligible.

(2) But they grew to that pass at last, as not to be able to do That for themselves, which they had formerly done for so many Others. That which occasion'd their Fall had been the means of their Elevation.

† βασιλι-
αὶ ὁμοσι-
μη.

on the other hand, how Obedience to Authority may be procured is a lesson which the Prince ought to learn, for a *skilful Leader is always readily followed*. And as it is the part of a good Rider to train his Horse to turn, or stop, or go on at his Pleasure; so is it the greatest piece of † *King-craft* to teach their Subjects a willing Obedience: Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* so ordered Matters, that People did not only *endure*, but even *desir'd* to be their Subjects. For they did not use to petition them for Ships, or Money, or a Supply of armed Men, but only for a *Spartan Commander*; and having obtain'd one, us'd him with Honour and Reverence; for so the *Sicilians* behaved themselves to *Gylippus*, the *Chalcidians* to *Brasidas*, and all the *Colonies* of the *Grecians* in *Asia* to *Lysander*, *Agesslaus* and *Callicratidas*. In short, they esteem'd and call'd them the *Peace-makers*, the *Reformers*, the *Correctors* of the *Licentiousness* both of Princes and People; and had their Eyes always upon the City of *Sparta*, as the perfect Model of good Manners and wise Government; the Rest seem'd as *Scholars*, (1) They were the *Masters of Greece*. And to this *Stratonicus* pleasantly alluded, when in Merriment he pretended to make a Law, that the *Athenians* should keep Processions in the Mysteries of *Ceres*, the *Eleans* should dispose of the Prizes at the Olympick Games (as being best skill'd in Matters of this nature) and that if either of them did amiss, the *Lacedæmonians* should be (2) *well beaten*. This was said only

(1) The Deference and Respect paid by the rest of the Cities to *Sparta* was not so much a Sign of the great Capacity of her Legislator, or of the Wisdom of her Constitution, but the Effect of Force rather than Justice.

(2) At first sight one would think *Stratonicus* should have said the *Lacedæmonians* were to have

the correcting of Those that had been faulty; but the Saying is more pointed when turn'd the other way. Therein he rallies the *Lacedæmonians* for their Custom of punishing, or fining, the Masters or Lovers of the Youth that had done amiss, and at the same time implies that *Sparta* was Mistress of the other Cities.

by way of ridicule; but *Antisthenes*, one of the Scholars of *Socrates*, said in earnest of the *Thebans*, who were become very much elated for their single Victory at (1) *Leuctres*, *That they look'd like School-boys who were proud of having newly beaten their Master*. [These indeed were merry Sayings, but yet may serve to testify the Opinion Men then had of the *Spartans*.]

However it was not the main Design of *Lycurgus*, that this City should govern a great many Others; he thought rather that the Happiness of a Kingdom, as of a private Man, consisted chiefly in the Exercise of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants: to this purpose his principal aim and contrivance was to make them nobly-minded, content with their own, not apt to follow vain Hopes, but moderate in all their Enterprises; and by consequence able to maintain themselves, and continue long in Safety. And therefore all Those who have written well of Politicks, as *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and several Others, have taken *Lycurgus* for their Model, as appears by their Writings: but these great Men left only vain Projects in writing, and Words, behind them; whereas *Lycurgus*, without writing any thing, did actually produce a real Government, which as it was never thought of before him, so can it scarcely be imitated in following Ages; so that he stands for an undeniable Proof, that a perfect wise Man was not so meer a Notion and Chimæra as some Men thought. For he hath obliged the World not with one single Man, (2) but with a whole Nation of Philosophers,

(1) By the Conduct of *Epaminondas* was of the *Spartan* Government, which he prefer'd to all Others.

(2) *Aristotle* and *Plato* differ in this, that *Temperance* and *Moderation* were not observ'd in the Publick, This from *Plutarch*. Even *Polybius*, so great an Admirer as he

phers, and therefore deserves Preference before all other Statesmen of Greece, [because he put That in practice of which They only had the *Idæa*.] (1) *Aristotle* himself was so convinced of his Merit, that he acknowledges they did him less Honour in *Sparta* after his Death than he deserv'd, altho' they did him the greatest they could think of, for there is still a Temple of his where every Year they offer Sacrifice to him as to a God.

It is reported that when his Bones were brought home to *Sparta*, his Tomb was struck with Lightning; an accident which befel no eminent Person but himself and *Euripides*, who was buried at *Arethusa* a City of *Macedon*; so that this is brought as a plea, or rather as a sufficient evidence, in favour of Those who have an honour for that (2) excellent Poet, That he had the same fate with that holy Man and Favourite of the Gods. Some say *Lycurgus* died in the City of *Cirrha*, but *Apollonhemis* says he died after he was brought to *Elis*. *Timeus* and *Aristoxenus*, that he ended his days in *Crete*. *Aristoxenus* further says, that his Tomb is shewn by the *Cretans* at *Pergamy* near the great Road. He left but one Son, nam'd *Antiorus*, who dying without Issue, the race was extinct. His Relations and Friends held an annual Assembly in Commemoration of him, and the Days of their meeting were called *Lycurgides*. *Aristocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*, says that he died in *Crete*, and that the Persons where he lodged, when they had burn'd his Body, cast the ashes into the Sea, which was what himself had desired, for fear that if his *Reliques* should

Publick, but in the particular Practice of private Men, Every <i>Spartan</i> , consider'd in his own Person, and private Life, was wise, modest, and prudent, but when taken collectively they	were a People full of Avarice, and Ambition.
	(1) None of the kindest Judges of those who went before him.
	(2) For <i>Euripides</i> was accused of Atheism.

LYCURGUS.

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be transported to *Lacedæmon*, the People might pretend themselves released from their Oaths, and make Innovations in the Government.

And thus much may suffice for the Life and Actions of Lycurgus.



THE



THE
L I F E
O F
NUMA POMPILIUS.

*i.e. as well
as about
the time of
Lycurgus.



HERE is * likewise a great diversity [amongst Historians] concerning the time in which *Numa Pompilius* reigned. Though Many [Noble Families of *Rome*] pretend to derive their Original exactly from him ; However a certain Writer called *Clodius*, in a Book of his, entitled (1) *The Chronology of past times*, avers, that the antient Registers of *Rome* were lost when that City was sacked by the *Gauls*, and that Those which are now extant, are counterfeited by such as flatter and serve the Humour of some great Men, who are resolved at any rate to have their Pedigree derived from some antient and noble Lineage, tho' in reality that Family hath no relation to them. And tho' it be commonly reported, that *Numa* was [a Scholar and] a familiar Acquaintance of *Pythagoras* ; yet it is again contradicted by Those who

(1) Ἑλεῖχος χρόνων, which some translate *Index temporum*; but Mr. Dacier, *la Refutation de Temps*.

affirm



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Lud. Du Guernier inv. et sculp.



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affirm that he neither was acquainted with the *Grecian* Language, nor Learning; and that he was either a Person of that natural Talent and Abilities of Mind, as of himself to attain unto Virtue; or else that his Inclinations were cultivated by some foreign Instructor, whose Rules and Doctrine were more excellent and sublime than those of *Pythagoras*. Some affirm also, that * this *Pythagoras* was not cotemporary with *Numa*, (1) but lived at least five Ages after him; but that there was another *Pythagoras*, a Native of *Sparta*, who won the Prize at the Olympick race, in the sixteenth Olympiad, in the third Year of which Olympiad *Numa* was chosen King; and that This might be the Person, who, in his Travels through *Italy*, having gained an Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Numa*, might assist him in settling the Order of his Kingdom; for which Reason, at the direction of This *Pythagoras*, many of the *Laconian* Laws and Customs might probably be introduced amongst the *Roman* Institutions: Or else it might be, because *Numa* was descended of the *Sabins*, (2) who declared themselves to be a Colony of the *Lacedaemonians*.

* i. e. the
Samian
Philosopher.

(1) Every Age, or Generation consisted of thirty Years. *Pythagoras* remov'd into *Italy* in the Reign of the elder *Tarquin*; and in the 51st Olympiad. *Numa* was chosen King the third Year of the 16th. So that there were 34 Olympiads, that is 136 Years, between *Numa*'s Election, and *Pythagoras* his Arrival in *Italy*; which 136 Years contain four Generations and an half; and This agrees with the Computation of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who saith that *Numa* reign'd four Generations compleat before *Pythagoras*: and in Contradiction to

Those who would have it that *Numa* was following his Studies under the Direction of that Philosopher at *Crotone* when he was called to the Crown, he adds that *Crotone* was not built till four Years after his Election.

(2) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* tells us it is recorded in the History of the *Sabines* that whilst *Lycurgus* had the Tuition of his Nephew *Eumomus*, several *Spartans* unable to live under the Severity of his Discipline fled into *Italy*, and settled at first at *Pometia*, and that Some of them departing from thence join'd with the *Sabins*,

The LIFE of

Lacedæmonians. However it is a difficult Matter to adjust the times exactly, especially such as are deduced from the Persons who were Conquerors at the Olympick Games. The orderly account (or list) of which was, as 'tis said, published so long after by *Hippias* of *Elis*, who grounds it upon no sufficient Authority to render it Authentick. But what we have collected as most remarkable and worthy to be related concerning *Numa*, we shall deliver, taking our Beginning from that place which is most pertinent to our purpose.

It was the thirty seventh Year, accounted from the Foundation of *Rome*, when *Romulus* then reigning, did on the fifth day of the Month of *July*, [which day is still call'd the *Capratine Nones*] offer a publick Sacrifice at the *Goats Marsh*, in presence of the Senate and most of the People of *Rome*: But then on a sudden arose a furious Tempest, which, with black Clouds and Thunder rending the Air, made an Eruption on the Earth, which affrighted all the rest of the Company with such Confusion, that they fled and were dispers'd. In this Whirlwind *Romulus* disappear'd, his Body being never since found either living or dead. This Accident gave occasion to the World grievously to suspect the practice of the *Patricians*; and a rumour went among People which bore hard upon them, as if they had long been weary of Kingly Government, and with a design to assume the Authority and Government into their own hands, had made the King away: because indeed

bins, who ever after retain'd a Tincture of the *Lacedæmonian* Customs, especially as they related to War, Frugality, and a painful laborious Life. Thus *Livy* calls the Education of the *Sabins*, a strict and severe Discipline; and *Horace* calls them the rigid *Sabins*.

This Colony, according to this Account, pass'd into *Italy* 120 Years before the Birth of *Numa*. But this Resemblance of Manners does not always imply the same Original. There is a Conformity in many Things between People unknown to each other.

of late he was thought to shew a more hard and Imperious deportment towards them. But they found means to wipe off this Suspicion, by ordaining divine Honours to be paid to *Romulus* as to one Not dead, but translated to a sublimer state, above the Condition of mortal Nature: And this was confirmed by the Testimony of *Proculus*, a noble Person, who swore that he saw *Romulus* catch'd up into Heaven in his Arms and Vestments, and as he ascended cry'd out, that they should hereafter style him by the Name of *Quirinus*.

Besides this Commotion there arose another, in which the City was greatly divided about the Election of a future King; for the Minds of the antient *Romans*, and the new Inhabitants, were not as yet grown into that perfect Union and Coalition of Spirits, but that there were diversities of Factions amongst the Commonalty, and Jealousies and Emulations amongst the Senators: for tho' all agreed that it was necessary to have a King, yet what Person or of which of the two Nations this Prince should be, was still a great Dispute. For Those who had been Builders of the City with *Romulus*, tho' they had already yielded a share of their Lands and Dwellings to the *Sabins*, who were Aliens, yet could they not be perswaded to resign into their Hands the Regal Authority over Those that entertained them. On the other side the *Sabins* had a reasonable plea, when they alledg'd, that their King *Tatius* being deceas'd, they had peaceably submitted to the Obedience of *Romulus*, so that now their Turn was come to have a King chosen out of their own Nation; nor did they esteem themselves inferiour to the *Romans*, nor to have contributed less than They to the Increase of *Rome*, which, without their Numbers and Association, could never have merited the Name of a City.

This was the ground of their discord ; but left in the mean time, while the right of Government was in suspense, Sedition in this state of Anarchy should occasion Confusion in the Commonwealth, it was agreed and ordained by the Senators, who were an hundred and fifty in number, that each of them should interchangably execute the Office of Supreme Magistrate, in the Name of *Quirinus*, and with all the Formalities and Rites of Regality offer the solemn Sacrifices, and dispatch Judicial Causes (1) for the space of six Hours by Day and six by Night : This equal distribution of the two Seasons was look'd upon as well contriv'd in point of Equality among the Senators ; and the vicissitude of Power, in respect of the People was to remove Envy ; when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a King, level'd in the same Day and same Night to the private Condition of a Subject : which Form of Government was termed by the *Romans*, *Interregnum*. But yet for all this plausible and modest way of Rule they could not escape the Censure and Clamours of the vulgar, as if they were changing the form of the Commonwealth into an Oligarchy, and by * keeping the State as it were in Tution among themselves, intend to abolish Kingly Government. But at length both Parties came to this conclusion, That the One should chuse a King out of the Body of the Other ; [that if the *Romans* were Electors, they were to make choice of a *Sabin*, and if the *Sabins* elected, they were to chuse a *Roman*.] This

* Διατάττειν
sayw-
γένηται.

(1) I cannot conceive where *Plutarch* found this odd Portion of time in which each Senator was to act as King. It seems to Me a thing impracticable. *Dionysius* and *Livy* relate the matter in a more probable manner. They say the whole Number of Senators was divided into Tens, who drew Lots, and every one in each Class or Ten presided in his Turn for the space of five days. When the fifty days of the first Class were expired, the Empire passed to the second, and so on.

was esteemed the best Expedient, both to reconcile the contending Parties at present, and to make the Created Prince equally obliged to both parties, out of favour to the One for their Suffrages in his Election, and of love to the Other on score of Relation and Consanguinity. In pursuance of this Agreement the *Sabins* remitted the Choice to the antient *Romans*, who were more inclinable to receive a *Sabin* King elected by themselves, than to allow a *Roman* exalted by the *Sabins*. Consultations being accordingly held among themselves, *Numa Pompilius*, of the *Sabin* Race, was elected; a Person so famous, and of that high Reputation for his virtue, (1) tho' he were not one of those *Sabins* who came to reside at *Rome*, that no sooner was he nominated than accepted by the *Sabins* with Applause and Acclamation, equal to that Freedom which the *Romans* shew'd in his Election.

The Choice being declar'd and made publick, Principal Men of both Parties were appointed Ambassadors to compliment and intreat the Prince, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Administration of the Kingly Government. Now this *Numa* resided at a famous City of the *Sabins* called *Cures*, whence both the *Romans* and *Sabins* afterwards gave themselves the name of *Quirites*, as a comprehensive name for both Associates. He was the Son of *Pomponius*, an illustrious Person, and was the youngest of four Brothers, being by * some divine Good Fortune born on the eleventh of the Kalends of *May*, which was the day on which the Foundation of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*: he was endued with a Soul rarely temper'd by Nature, and disposed to Virtue, and excellently improved by

* *τινα*
δεσιν
τιχλω.

(1) This Circumstance, trifling as it seems, serves to give the Reader a just Idea of *Numa*, who would not remove to *Rome* when the rest of the *Sabins* went to settle there. A wise and good Man does not but upon good Grounds shift his Habitation.

Learning, Patience, and the Studies of Philosophy; by which advantages he had utterly extirpated not only all such disorderly Motions of the Mind, as are universally esteemed vile and mean, but even all inclination to Violence and Oppression, which had once an honourable Esteem amongst the barbarous Nations; being persuaded that there was no other Fortitude than That which subdu'd the Affections, and reduc'd them to the Terms and Restraints of Reason.

Upon this account, whilst he banish'd all Luxury and Softness from his own home; and offered his best assistance to any Citizen or Stranger that would make use of him, in nature of an upright Judge or faithful Counsellor; and made use of what leisure hours he had to himself, not in pursuit of pleasure, or acquisition of profit and wealth, but in the Worship of the immortal Gods, and in the rational contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature; His name grew so very famous, that *Tatius*, who was *Romulus's* Associate in the Kingdom of *Rome*, chose to make him his Son-in-Law, bestowing upon him his only Daughter *Tatia*. Nor yet did the advantage of this Marriage swell his Vanity to such a pitch as to desire to dwell with his Father-in-Law at *Rome*; but rather to content himself to inhabit with his *Sabins*, and cherish his own Father in his old Age: The like inclinations had *Tatia*, who preferred the private condition of her Husband before the honours and splendour she might have enjoyed in her Father's Court. This *Tatia*, as is reported, after she had lived for the space of thirteen years with *Numa* in conjugal society, died; and then *Numa*, leaving the conversation of the Town, betook himself to a Country life, and in a solitary manner frequented the Groves and Fields consecrated to the Gods, making his usual abode in desert Places. And from hence in a great

great measure that Story about the Goddess had its Original, which was, that this same *Numa* did not retire from the Company of Men out of any Melancholy or disturbance of Mind, but because he had experienced a more sublime Conversation, and been thought worthy of a Celestial Bride, having the Goddess *Egeria* for his Consort, who was in love with him; and that by constantly conversing with her, he became a beatified Man, and skilled in all Divine Matters.

There is no doubt but that such Fancies as these are much like many of those very antient Fables; such as the *Phrygians* recount of *Atis*, the *Bithynians* of *Herodotus*, the *Arcadians* of (1) *Endymion*, and a thousand others, which past Ages recorded for Saints, that were beatified and beloved of the Gods. Nor doth it seem strange, if God, who places not his affection on Horses, or Birds, but on Mankind, should be pleased to dwell with such as are most eminently Virtuous, and not disdain or despise (2) a spiritual Conversation with wise and heavenly Persons; tho' it be altogether irrational to believe, that the Divine Essence of any God or Demon is capable of a sensual or carnal Love or Passion for human Bodily Form or Beauty: And yet the wise *Egyptians* make a distinction which seems not very absurd to imagine, which is, that a

(1) *Diana* was not the only one that fell in love with *Endymion*. I have read in some Fragment of a *Greek* Poet, that the God of Sleep was likewise in love with him, and that he might never be without the Pleasure of beholding his beautiful Eyes, he made him constantly sleep with them open. A pretty way to let it be known that such a one had fine Eyes.

(2) Nothing can be more opposite to the divine Nature, which

is Spirit, and Purity itself, than those extravagant Notions of Love, which the gross Ignorance of Paganism hath conceiv'd and ascrib'd to it. This Sentiment of *Plutarch* is very just, and well founded. It destroys at once those monstrous and absurd Accounts of the Amours of the Gods, with which the Heathen Theology abounded, and places them in the only proper Light.

Divine Spirit, (1) by a certain spiritual impulse, may possibly apply itself to the nature of a Woman, and lay the first beginnings of Generation; but on the other side, that it is impossible for the Male-kind to have any congress or mixture with a Goddess; but at the same time they do not consider that there can be no real coition, but where there is a mutual Communication of One to the Other. However, notwithstanding This, it may be no absurdity to say, that the Gods have a kindness and friendship for Men; and upon this account are said to *Love* them, and this *Love* naturally expresses itself in a particular Care over their Virtue and good Qualities: And therefore it was no Error of those who feigned, that (2) *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus* were beloved by *Apollo*; or that *Hippolitus* the *Sicyonian* was so much in his favour, that as often

(1) This Passage is worth Observation. The *Egyptians* had, without doubt, receiv'd this Sentiment from the Tradition of the *Hebrews*; They expected the Messiah, who was to be born of a Virgin, by the Power of the Almighty over-shadowing her.

(2) *Phorbas* was the Son of *Triopas*, King of *Argos*. He delivered the *Rhodians* from a prodigious Number of Serpents that destroy'd the Island, especially of a furious Dragon, that had devoured a great many People. As he was highly belov'd by *Apollo*, he was after his Death placed in the Heavens, together with the Dragon he had destroy'd. This is the Constellation which the *Greeks* call *Ophiucus*, and the *Latins* *Serpentarius*; and whenever any of their Ships set Sail from *Rhodes*, it was customary for the Inhabitants to offer a Sacrifice for the happy Arrival of *Phorbas*; thereby pray-

ing to *Apollo*, that Those who were just then sail'd might be as prosperous as *Phorbas* had been, and by some notable Action deserve as much Glory.

Hyacinthus was the Son of *Amymas*, Founder of the City of *Amymas*, near *Sparta*. He was beloved by *Apollo* and *Zephyrus*, and was killed in a fit of Jealousy by the latter, who caus'd a Quoit, thrown by *Apollo*, to fall upon him. He was changed into a Flower which bears his own Name. They had an annual Feast at *Amymas*, called the Feast of *Hyacinthus*, and celebrated the Day before That which was dedicated to *Apollo*. They offered Libations upon his Tomb, which was very magnificent, and is described by *Pausanias*, in the 3d Book of his *Lacónicks*.

Admetus was the Son of *Pheeres*, King of *Theffaly*. It is said that *Apollo* was his Cow-herd.

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as he sailed from *Sicyon* to *Cirrha*, the God rejoiced, and inspired the *Pythian* Prophets with this heroic Verse,

*Now doth Hippolytus return again,
And venture his dear Life upon the Main.*

It is reported also, that *Pan* became enamoured of *Pindar* and his Verses, and (1) that a Deity honoured *Hesiod* and *Archilochus* after their Deaths, for the sake of their Muses: It is said also that *Æsculapius* sojourned with *Sophocles* in his life-time, (2) of which many instances are extant to these days; and that being dead, (3) another Deity took care to perform his Funeral-Rites. Wherefore if any credit may be given to these particular instances, why should we judge it incongruous, that a like Spirit

(1) As for *Hesiod*, take the following History of him, to which *Plutarch*, without doubt, does allude. After the Death of this Poet, who was buried in *Ætolia*, in the Territory of *Naupactus*, at the entrance into the Gulph of *Corinth*; the *Orchomenians*, a People of *Bæotia*, being terribly afflicted with a Plague, sent to the Oracle at *Delfi* for a Remedy against so grievous a Calamity. The Priestess return'd for Answer, that the Pestilence was not to cease till they had removed the Bones of the Poet *Hesiod* into their Country, and that a Crow should conduct them to the Place where they were inhumed; as soon as they had paid Obedience to the Oracle the Plague ceased. As for *Archilochus*, he was honoured after his Death in the following Manner: Having been slain in Fight by a Soldier of *Naxos*, the

first time afterwards when that Soldier went to present himself in the Temple of *Delfi*, the Priestess forbid him the Place, because he had been the Death of a Man consecrated to the Muses. He would fain have justified himself to the Priestess, and appeased the Deity by Prayer; but he was commanded by the Oracle to go immediately into the House of one *Tettix*, near the Promontory of *Tenarus*, and there, by his Libations and Sacrifices, appease and propitiate the *Manes* of *Archilochus*.

(2) It does not appear to Me what those Instances were, which were extant in the Days of *Plutarch*; perhaps it might be some Inscription.

(3) That other Deity was *Bacchus*, and this is the Story: Whilst *Lyfander* was carrying on the Siege of *Athens*, he had possess'd himself

Spirit of the Gods should inspire *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaster*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, or many others; [or that the Gods should confer a meaner proportion of their favours on Those] who were Founders of Commonwealths, or busied in making Laws, and administration of the Political Affairs of Kingdoms? Nay, it is most reasonable to believe, that the Gods in their sober humour are assistant at the Counsels and serious Debates of these Men, to inspire and direct them; as they do also Poets and Musicians, (if at all,) when in a more pleasant mood, they intend their own divertisement: but if any Man be of another Opinion, (1) as *Bacchylides* says, *The Way is broad enough* [to leave room for every Man's Sentiments;] for there is no absurdity in that other Account which Some give of the Proceedings of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and such other famous Men, viz. That being to manage the untractable and forward disposition of the Multitude, and designing to introduce great Innovations in their political Establishment; they pretended a divine Authority for what they did, as the surest Way of preserving

himself of the Fort of *Decelæa*, where was the Sepulcher of *Sophocles* his Ancestors. The Poet died during the Siege, and they could not bury him in that Sepulcher, because it was in the Hands of the Enemy. *Bacchus* appeared in a Dream to *Lysander*, and commanded him to suffer the new *Syren* just dead at *Athens*, to be buried in *Decelæa*. At first *Lysander* made nothing of the Apparation, whereupon *Bacchus* appear'd to him a second time; and *Lysander* having learn'd from a Deferter that *Sophocles* was dead, he suffered the *Athenians* to bury him, and honoured the Convey with his Presence.

(1) He was a *Lyrick* Poet of *Ceos*, and Nephew of *Simonides*; he is remembred for this Sentence, *Chastity is the greatest Ornament of a virtuous Life*; a noble Saying for a Heathen! If we may believe *Pindar's* Scholiast, his Poems were prefer'd to Those even of that Poet by *Hiero*; in the *Pythian* Games; and it is very likely that it was that Preference which made *Pindar* so bitter against him. One Poet never can forgive Another when he is prefer'd to him, or so much as put in Competition with him.

Those who were thus deceived into their own happiness. But to return to our purpose.

Numa was about forty Years of age when the Ambassadors came from *Rome* to make him offers of the Kingdom; the Speakers were *Proculus* and *Velesus*, two Persons of such Eminence, that it was thought, some time before, the People would have chosen one of them for King; the Party of *Romulus* being zealous for *Proculus*, and the *Tatian* Faction for *Velesus*. Their Speech was very short, as supposing that *Numa* would gladly have embraced so favourable an opportunity of Advancement; but, it seems, it was no such easy Matter to persuade him: but [contrary to their expectation, they found that] they were forc'd to use many reasons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retir'd life, to accept the Government of a City, whose Foundation was laid in War, and grown up in martial Exercises; wherefore, in presence of his Father, and *Martius* one of his Kinsmen, he returned answer in this manner: " That every alteration of a Man's life is dangerous to him; but " as for one that neither wants any sufficient convenience of Life, nor has any reason to find fault " with his present Circumstances, nothing less than " mere Madness can make such a Man change, and " remove from a State of life which he has been " long used to; which, though there were nothing more in it, has, however, by being more " secure, an advantage over that Condition which " is uncertain what it will prove. But then the " Difficulties of this Kingdom are even beyond " an Uncertainty, if we may take any measures of " it by what befell *Romulus*, who did not escape " the hard suspicion of having plotted against the " life of his Collegue *Tatius*; and left the like hard " suspicion upon his Peers, of having been treasonably murder'd by them. And yet *Romulus* had " the

“ the advantage to be thought of Divine Race,
 “ and to have been nursed and preserved after a
 “ strange and miraculous manner in his infancy.
 “ But as for me, I am only of mortal Race, and
 “ have been nursed and educated by Men well
 “ known among you. And the highest part of
 “ my Character being an extraordinary desire of
 “ quiet Retirement, and a constant Application to
 “ such Studies as are inconsistent with the Af-
 “ fairs of a busy Life, is such as renders a Man ve-
 “ ry unfit to reign. This earnest love of Peace,
 “ which has always grown up with me, is fit only
 “ for a State that cannot be exposed to War, and
 “ for Men who assemble together, only to Wor-
 “ ship the Gods, and to maintain amicable Con-
 “ versation; but employ the rest of their time pri-
 “ vately in tilling their Ground and feeding their
 “ Cattle. Whereas *Romulus*, perhaps, may have
 “ left you, oh *Romans!* engaged in unavoidable
 “ Wars; and to bear up against them, your State
 “ requires an active and vigorous King. And be-
 “ sides, your People have been long accustomed to
 “ Arms, and Success has encouraged this humour;
 “ so that their ambition of advancing themselves,
 “ and enlarging their Dominion over others, is no
 “ longer a Secret. And therefore, besides all other
 “ Considerations, such a Prince would be a mere
 “ Jest as should go about to inculcate the Worship
 “ of the Gods, and teach an high reverence for
 “ Justice, and a detestation of Violence and War,
 “ to a City that rather required a martial Captain
 “ than a peaceful King.

The *Romans* perceiving, by these Words, that he
 refused to accept the Kingdom, were the more in-
 stant and urgent with him, beseeching him that
 he would not suffer them to relapse into their for-
 mer sedition and civil discord; [which they must
 unavoidably do, if he accepted not their proffer,]

there being no Person, on whom both parties could
accord, but on himself: and at length his Father,
and *Martius*, taking him aside, persuaded him to
accept this Offer, which was important, and rather
was conferred from Heaven than from Men. “ Tho’
“ (said they) you neither desire Riches, as being
“ sufficiently content with your own Fortune, nor
“ court the splendid Fame of Authority and Power,
“ as having already the more valuable Fame
“ of Virtue; yet you cannot but imagine, that
“ the just exercise of Royalty is the greatest Ser-
“ vice you can perform towards God, who raises
“ in You this extraordinary Talent of Justice, and
“ will not allow it to lie idle and useless. And
“ therefore you ought by no means to refuse or
“ decline the Government, which affords a wise
“ Man so large a Field for great and honourable
“ Actions, in which the Worship of the Gods
“ may be performed with greater Solemnity, and
“ the Minds of Men made more tame and pliable
“ to Religion, since They are wont to be soonest
“ and most easily formed by the Model of their
“ Prince. Even these very *Romans* shewed a great
“ affection to *Tatius*, though a Foreigner; and the
“ memory of *Romulus* is so precious to them, that
“ since his decease, they have voted Divine Ho-
“ nours to be paid to him. And now who knows,
“ but that this People being victorious, may now
“ think they have had enough of War; and that
“ being satiated with the Trophies and Spoils they
“ have acquired; they may gladly entertain a gen-
“ tle and pacifick Prince, who being a lover of
“ Justice may reduce the City into a model and
“ course of Laws and judicial Proceedings? And
“ in case the affections of this People should still
“ be inclined to break forth into a furious and
“ impetuous desire of War; were it not better
“ to have the reins held by such a moderating
“ Hand,

“ Hand, as is able to divert the fury another way,
 “ and spend itself on Foreigners? and to be the
 “ Means of uniting both his own native Country,
 “ and the whole *Sabin* Nation, in the strictest
 “ Bonds of love and friendship with so flourish-
 “ ing and powerful a City.

To these reasons and persuasions several other suspicious Omens (as is reported) did concur: and when his own Citizens understood what Message the *Roman* Ambassadors had brought him, they all addressed themselves to him, instantly intreating him to go and accept the Offer; being assured that it was the only means to appease all civil diffensions, and incorporate both People into one Body.

As soon as *Numa* was determined by these persuasions and reasons, having first done Sacrifice to the Gods, he set forward towards *Rome*; being met in his way by the Senate and People, who express a marvellous desire to receive him. The Women also welcom'd him with joyful Acclamations, and Sacrifices were offered for him in all the Temples; and so universal was the Joy, that the City seem'd not to receive a King, but the Addition of a new Kingdom. In this manner he descended into the *Forum*, where *Spurius Vetius*,
 † *Interrex*. whose turn it was to be † Governour at that Hour, putting it to the Vote, whether *Numa* should be King; they all with one Voice and Consent, cried out, A *Numa*, A *Numa*! Then were the Regalities and Robes of Authority brought to him, but he refused to be invested with them, until he had first consulted and been confirmed by the Gods; so being accompanied by the Priests and * *Augurs*, he ascended the Capitol, which at that time the *Romans* called the *Tarpeian* Rock. Then the chief of the *Augurs* covered his Head, and turned his Face towards the South; and, standing behind him, laid his Right-hand on the
 Head

* *South-
 sayers.*

Head of *Numa*, and prayed, casting his Eyes every way, in expectation of Birds, or some other auspicious Signal from the Gods. It is wonderful to consider with what Silence and Devotion the multitude, which was assembled in the Market-place, stood expecting and longing for an happy event, which was soon determined by the appearance and flight of such Birds as were accounted fortunate. Then *Numa*, apparelling himself in his Royal Robes, descended from the Hill unto the People, by whom he was received, and congratulated with Shouts and Acclamations, and esteem'd by all as a most religious Prince, and most highly beloved of the Gods.

The first thing he did at his entrance into Government (1) was to dismiss the Band of three hundred Men, which *Romulus* constantly kept for his Life-guard, and called *Celeres*, [that is *Swift* or *Nimble* ;] for he did not think it reasonable to shew any distrust of Those who had placed so much Confidence in him, nor to rule over People that durst not trust him. The next thing he did, was to add to the two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in Honour of *Romulus*, whom he called *Flamen Quirinalis*. The *Romans* before that time called their Priests *Flamines*, by corruption of the Word *Pilamines*, from certain Caps which they wore, called $\pi\acute{\iota}\lambdaοι$ in *Greek* ; for in those times *Greek* Words were more mixed with the *Latin*, than in this Age: So also that Royal Robe, which is called *Læna*, *Juba* will have to be the same as the *Greek Chlæna* ; and the Name

(1) *Dionysius* on the contrary saith, that *Numa* made no alteration in whar had been settled by *Romulus*, only that he confer'd the third Rank in the Administration of holy Things on the Tribunes that commanded those Companies of Guards, with an intent, without doubt, to instill into them stronger Notions of Justice and Humanity.

ἀμφιθαλῆ
παῖδα.

of (1) *Camillus*, which is given to the * blooming Youth that serves in the Temple of *Jupiter*, taken from the same Name which some of the *Greeks* give to *Mercury*, denoting his service and attendance on the Gods.

† οὐρανὸν
μαίνουσαν
πόλιν.

When *Numa* had by these Actions insinuated himself into the favour and affection of the People, he began to dispose the humour of the City, which as yet was obdurate and rendred hard as Iron by War, to become more gentle and pliable by the Applications of Humanity and Justice. It was then, if ever, that *Rome* was really such a City as *Plato* stiles † a City in a high Ferment; for from its very Original it was a Receptacle of the most daring and warlike Spirits, whom some bold and desperate Adventure had driven thither from every Quarter; and by frequent Incursions made upon its Neighbours, and continual Wars, it had grown up, and increased its Power, and now seemed strong and settled by encountering of Dangers, as Piles drove into the Ground become more fixed and stable by the impulse and blows which the Rammer lays upon them. Wherefore *Numa*, judging that it was the Master-piece of his Art to mollify and bend the stubborn and inflexible Spirits of this People, began to call in the assistance of the Gods, [or principles of Religion;] for most commonly by Sacrifices, Processions, and religious Dances, which he appointed, and in

(2) *Camillus* is derived from the Beotick Κᾶσιμιλος, which properly signifies a Servitor. In every Temple there was a Youth of Quality, whose Business it was to minister to the High-Priest, and perform all the Offices relating to the Services of the Temple. Thus *Samuel* serv'd in the Temple of the Lord under *Eli* the High-

Priest; but *Samuel* ministred before the Lord, being a Child, girded with a Linen Ephod. 1 Sam. ii. 18. It was required, that the Father and Mother of the Youth should be both alive, as were those of *Samuel*, for which reason *Plutarch* makes use of the Word ἀμφιθαλῆ, which the Latins call *Patrimium Matrimium*.

which

which he officiated in Person, which had always some diverting Exercise, and pleasing Entertainment mixt with their solemn Devotion; he soothed the Minds of the People, and render'd their fiery martial Temper more cool and tame. And at some times also, to affect their Fancies with a fear and reverence of God, he made them believe that strange Apparitions and Visions were seen, and direful threatening Voices heard, whereby he subdued their Minds, and rendred them submissive by Superstition.

This method which *Numa* used, made it believ'd that he was much conversant with *Pythagoras*, and that he drew and copied his Learning and Wisdom from him: For a familiar and constant attendance upon the Gods made a great part both of the Philosophy of the One, and the Policy of the Other. It is said also, that he affected the exterior Garb and Gestures of *Pythagoras*, and to personate him in all his motions. For as it is said of *Pythagoras*, (1) that he had taught an Eagle to come at his lure, and stoop at his call; and that as he passed through a Crowd of People, assembled at the *Olympick Games*, he shewed them (2) his Golden Thigh, with many other rare Arts and Feats, which appeared miraculous; (3) upon which *Timon* the *Phliasian* likewise wrote this distich :

(1) It is also said that he had tamed a furious wild Bear, and that, letting him loose, he forbid him to do the least Injury to any Animal whatever, which he punctually observ'd. and liv'd in the Woods as a Disciple of the Philosopher.

(2) By this trick he intended to be taken for *Apollo*.

(3) *Plutarch* adds the *Phliasian* to distinguish him from *Timon* the *Athenian*, so well known by

the Sirname of *Man-hater*. The *Timon* mention'd by *Plutarch* in this Place, was of *Phlius*, a Town in *Peloponnesus*, and flourish'd under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. He was the Author of several Comedies, Tragedies, and Satyrs. *Timon* the *Athenian* lived an Hundred, or an Hundred and twenty Years before him, in the Days of *Alcibiades*, and in the time of the *Peloponnesian War*.

Pythagoras,

*Pythagoras, from Magick bent on Glory vain,
With solemn Speeches captivates th' admiring train.*

In like manner the part which *Numa* acted was to have it believed that a certain Goddess or Mountain Nymph was in love with him, and had frequent Communion with him in private, as was said before, and that he entertain'd familiar Conversation with the Muses, for to them he ascribed the greatest part of his Revelations; and one Muse in particular above all the rest he recommended to the Veneration of the *Romans*, to which he gave the Name of *Tacita*. i. e. *Silent* or (1) *Novice*. This looks as if it had been done by one that copied and recommended the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Silence. His Ordinances also about Images are very much a-kin to the Opinions of *Pythagoras*: For *Pythagoras* supposed that the first [or Supreme] Being, was not subject to sense or capable of passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and to be comprehended only by the Mind; and *Numa* forbade the *Romans* to represent God in the form of Man or Beast; nor was there any painted or graven Image of a Deity admitted among them formerly: but for the space of (2) the first hundred and sixty Years they built Temples and erected Chappels, but made no Statue or Image, as thinking it a great impiety to represent the most excellent Beings, by things so base and unworthy; there being

(1) *Néav*. so it is in the present *elder* than *Numa*, since it had Copies of *Plutarch*, but *Xylander* thinks it ought to be *ἐνέαν*, that is *Mute*, and so does *H. Stephens*: but if *νέαν* be retained it may have respect to the Noviciate of the *Pythagoreans*, during which perfect silence was enjoined.

(2) This Custom therefore was

been in use before his time. It is very likely that the *Phœnicians* had long before brought into Italy the Precept contain'd in the Law of God, and handed to them from the *Hebrews*, whereby they were forbid to make any Image of the Deity.

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no possible access to the Deity but by the Mind raised and elevated by Divine Contemplation. His Sacrifices also had great similitude with the Holy Offerings of *Pythagoras*; for they were not celebrated with effusion of Blood, but consisted mostly (1) of the Flower of Wheat and libations of Wine, and such other things as were most easy to be had. But besides these, they who will needs have those two great Men to have been intimate Acquaintance, take pains to prove it by other more remote instances. One of which is, that the *Romans* made *Pythagoras* free of their City, as *Epicharmus* the Comick Poet, (2) an antient Author and Scholar of *Pythagoras*, relates in a certain Treatise dedicated to *Antenor*; that *Numa* gave to one of his four Sons the Name of (3) *Mamercus*, which was the Name of one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*; and from him, they say, is sprung that antient *Patri-cian* Family (4) of the *Æmilians*, for that the King superadded the Sirname of *Æmilius*, to denote the Softness of his Words, and the

(1) *Plutarch* is not to be understood here as if he meant that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* offer'd Flower, or Meal, in Sacrifice; but that offering no bloody Sacrifices, they form'd in Paste the Figures of their Victims, and offer'd them as if they had been living. It may likewise be understood that they made use of plain Cakes, which they offer'd up instead of Victims.

(2) He lived in the Days of *Xerxes*, about the 77th Olympiad, which does not agree with the Calculation of Those who make him one of *Pythagoras* his Disciples, and *Pythagoras* himself Contemporary with *Numa*; and yet we cannot be mistaken as to the

time wherein *Epicharmus* lived, for it is well known he was banish'd *Sicily* by *Hiero*, for having been a little too free of his Tongue in the Queen's presence.

(3) This Instance proves but little, for long before *Pythagoras* the Name *Mamers*, and *Mamercus*, was in use among the *Tuscans*, or as Others say among the *Sabins*. For they call'd *Mars Mamers*, from whence comes *Mavors*, and *Mamers* is deriv'd from the Greek word *Μαμερτός*.

(4) This was one of the most considerable Families in *Rome*, being divided into several Branches, such as the *Lepidi*, the *Pauli*, and *Papi*, who were all *Æmilians*.

The LIFE of

Gracefulness of his Speech. And I my self remember that when I was at *Rome*, I heard Many say, that when the Oracle directed two Statues to be raised, one to the Wisest, and another to the most Valiant Man of *Greece*, they presently erected two of Brass in the *Forum*, one representing *Alcibiades*, and the other *Pythagoras*. But to insist longer either in removing or confirming an opinion about these matters, which are so full of doubt and uncertainty, would be pursuing an impertinent and childish Controversy.

The Original institution and appointment of the Chief-Priests, (1) who are called *Pontifices*, is generally ascribed to *Numa*; and 'tis said (2) that he himself was the first that was made one of them. The reason why they were (3) called *Pontifices*, Some will have to be because they attend the Service of the Gods, who have Power and Dominion over all things: For him that is Powerful the *Romans* call *Potens*. Others say the Name was given by way of abatement or exception in respect of things possible to be done, as if it were because the Lawgiver commanded the Priests to perform all Such divine Offices as were possible, not charging them with a fault when they were hindered by any

(1) *Numa* created Four, of which the first was called High Priest. These were all of *Patrician* Families. In the Year of *Rome* 453 they added four *Plebeians* to the former, and in *Sylla's* time they created fifteen of them.

(2) I am of Opinion that either *Plutarch*, or Those he copied after, were led into a Mistake from the Conformity of the Name. The *Pontif* first chosen was indeed called *Numa*, but it was not *Numa* the King, but *Numa Mar-*

cus, the Son of *Marcus* one of the Senators.

(3) It is most reasonable to think that *Pontifex* is for *Potifex*, *qui potest facere*, who had a right to Sacrifice, that is, who had the Intendency of the Sacrifices, and consequently of all their other religious Ceremonies. But how came the *n* in *Pontifex* to be added? possibly for the same Reason as we find it added in *quotiens* instead of *quoties*, and *totiens* in-

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great and urgent impediment. But the greatest part of Authors approve that Account of the Name (1) which to me seems most ridiculous, as if these *Pontifices* were so called only as *Bridge-Makers*, upon account of Sacrifices made upon the *Bridge*, which are lookt upon as the most sacred and of greatest Antiquity; for the *Latins* call a Bridge *Pontem*, the keeping and repairing whereof belong'd as much to the care of the Priests, as the most indispensable and accustomed Sacrifices: for that the *Romans* did not think it lawful, but an execrable impiety, to demolish the * *Wooden Bridge*. 'tis moreover said that by appointment of the Oracle, it was to be only, of Timber, and fastned with Wooden Pins, without Nails or Cramps of Iron: But the Stone Bridge was built many ages after, when *Æmilius* was Questor: However there are some who say that this same Wooden Bridge was not so old as the time of *Numa*, but was finished by King *Ancus Marcius*, who was Grandson of *Numa* by his Daughter.

• Pons
Sublicius
in Latin.

The Chief of these *Pontifices* [or *Pontifex Maximus*] bore the Office of an Interpreter of Religion, or Prophet, or rather of a President of Sacred Rites, who had not only the Care of the publick Ceremonies, but also the Oversight of such as offer'd Sacrifice in private, not suffering them to vary from the Orders established by Law, but directing what was necessary for any one either in worshipping or supplicating the Gods. He was also * Overseer of the Holy Virgins called *Vestals*. For to *Numa* do men attribute the sacred institution of *Vestal Virgins*, and the religious manner of ordering the perpetual Fire which was in their keeping, either because it was thought proper that such a pure and uncorrupt Substance as that

• ἱερισκο-
πος.

(1) And yet *Varro*, and *Dionysius* after him, thought That the most likely, and reasonable.

The L I F E of

of fire should be committed to the care of Persons whose Bodies were chaste and unpolluted, or because its being unfruitful and producing nothing, alludes best to the sterile Condition of Virgins: for even in *Greece* wherever perpetual holy Fire is kept, as at *Delphi* and *Athens*, the care of it is committed not to Virgins but to Widows, who are past the Years and Desires of Marriage. And in case by any accident it should happen that this Fire becomes extinct, (as the Holy Lamp was at *Athens*, under the Tyranny of (1) *Aristion*; and at *Delphi*, when that Temple was burnt by the *Medes*; and at *Rome*, in the time of the War with *Mithridates*; and of their own civil Wars, when not only the Fire was extinguished, but the Altar demolish'd) They say it is not lawful to light it again from any other Fire, but it must be made new and fresh, by kindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the Sun. This flame they generally kindle by means of certain Dishes, which being polished Concave are adjusted so as to make two equal sides of a Rectangular Triangle, and incline alike to one common centre [or *Focus*] from the whole circumference: and when they are placed against the Sun in such a position that the reflected rays are collected and united at the centre, then they rarefy the Air, and by reverberation immediately kindle the lightest and driest parts of the fuel applied, the Sun-beams thus acquiring the force and violence of Fire. Some are of Opinion that these Vestals had no other Care or Business than the Conservation of this Fire; but Some conceive, that they were Keepers of other Divine Secrets, which are concealed and hidden from all

(2) This *Aristion* held out a long time against *Sylla*, who had laid siege to *Athens*. He committed innumerable Outrages in the City, and was at last the cause of its being sack'd, and plunder'd.

others but themselves ; of which we have made mention in the Life of *Camillus*, so far as Respect to Religion would allow us either to know or relate. It is reported, that at first only two Virgins were consecrated by *Numa*, whose Names were *Gegania* and *Verania* ; but soon after two more, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia* : But to these (1) *Servius* afterwards added two more, the which number [of Six] hath continued to this our Age.

It was prescribed by the King that these holy Virgins should vow to keep an unspotted Chastity for the space of thirty Years ; the first ten whereof they were [as in their Novitiate] obliged to learn the Ceremonies and Rules of their Religion ; then for other ten Years they exercised the Sacerdotal Function, and practised what they had learnt before : and the remaining ten they employed in teaching and instructing others. Then the whole term being compleated, she that pleased was allowed to marry, and to betake her self to any other kind of life, quitting the exercise of the sacred Function. But it is said that there were but few who ever chose to make use of this Liberty, and that Those who did, were never happy, but wore out the rest of their lives in continual Regret and Melancholy, which threw the others into such a superstitious Fear of the like, that they chose to continue till old Age and the hour of Death in their strict Rules and single Life.

But this severe Condition was recompensed by other Privileges and Prerogatives ; such as These for instance, That they had Power to make a Testament in the Life-time of their Father ; That they had a free Administration of their own Affairs without Guardian or Tutor, (2) which was the

(1) *Dionysius Halic.* says it was understood so as to make *Plutarch* say, that *Numa* had granted to the *Tarquinius Priscus*.

(2) These Words are not to be understood as to make *Plutarch* say, that *Numa* had granted to the Vestal Virgins the same Privilege

Privilege of Women who were the Mothers of three Children: When they went abroad, (1) they had the *Fasces* carried before them; and if perchance in their Walks abroad it were their fortune to meet a Malefactor leading to Execution, he was immediately freed from Death, (2) provided the *Vestal* made Oath, that the occasion of meeting was accidental, and undesigned, not of set purpose. Whosoever went under the Chair on which they were carried, was guilty of a Capital Crime, and immediately punished with Death.

If these *Vestals* committed any other Faults they were punishable with Whipping, which Punishment was inflicted by the High Priest only, who sometimes [as the nature of the Offence required] whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the Caution of a Veil or Curtain; but she that had been defiled, or permitted her self to be defloured, was buried Alive near the Gate which is called *Collina*; where within the City a little Mount of Earth is raised, reaching a good way in length; called in *Latin*

leges He had allow'd to Women that were the Mothers of three Children, for *Numa* never thought of granting to Women the *juris trium Liberorum*; This was a Franchise establish'd by *Augustus* in Honour of Wedlock, and to encourage People to Marry. So that it must be understood as if he had said *The same Privileges which are at this day enjoy'd by Women who are the Mothers of three Children.*

(1) *Plutarch* is mistaken in this Particular. The *Vestals* had not that Honour confer'd upon them till many Ages after, by the *Triumvirs Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony*, in the Year of Rome DCCXII.

(2) Here again *Plutarch* seems to be a Stranger to the Customs and Ceremonies of the *Romans*, who would have thought it a sort of Sacrilege to have obliged the *Vestals* to take an Oath. The Dignity of their Function render'd them so venerable that they were believ'd without the Solemnity of an Oath. Nay it is an Article in the perpetual Edict, that is the Edict of the *Prætors, Sacerdotum Vestalem, & Plaminem Dialem in omni mea Jurisdictione jurare non cogum. Throughout all my Jurisdiction I will not oblige a Vestal Virgin, or Priest of Jupiter to take an Oath. Plutarch* therefore shou'd have said provided she declared, &c.

Agger

Agger; under it is a little Cell, to which a descent is made by Stairs: Here they prepare a Bed, and light up a Lamp, and provide a small quantity of Victuals, such as Bread, Water in a Bottle, Milk and Oil: that so that Body, which had been consecrated and devoted to the most Divine and Mysterious Service, might not be said to perish by a Death so detestable as that of Famine. The Party thus condemned, is carried to Execution through the Market-place in a Litter, wherein she is covered, and bound with Cords, so that the Voice of her Cries and Laments cannot be heard; all People with silence go out of the way as she passes, and such as follow accompany the Bier with solemn and tacit Sorrow: and indeed there is not a more dreadful spectacle than this, nor any day in which the City puts on so great an appearance of Sorrow, as on this Occasion. When the Litter comes to the place of Execution, the Officers loose the Cords; and then the High Priest, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and muttering some certain Prayers to himself just before the fatal Minute, leads out the Prisoner who is still covered, and places her upon the steps which lead down to her House of darkness: which being done, he retires with the rest of the Priests, and when she is gone down the Ladder is drawn up, and the Cell is covered with a great deal of Earth thrown upon it, so as to make it equal with the rest of the *Agger*. And this was the Punishment of Those who broke their Vow of Virginity. It is said also that *Numa* built the Temple of *Vesta*, which was intended for a Conservatory of the Holy Fire, in an Orbicular form, not with a design to represent the figure of the Earth, as if That were *Vesta*, but the Frame of the Universe, in the Center of which the (1) *Py-*

(1) That this was the opinion of *Philolaus* and other *Pythagoreans* is well known, but that *Pythagoras* himself held the Earth to be the Center is affirmed by *Diogenes Laertius*.

thagoreans place the Element of Fire, and give it the Name of *Vesta* and Unity : But they do not hold that the Earth is immovable, or that it is situated in the middle Region of the World about it; but keeps a circular motion about the seat of Fire. Nor do they account the Earth among the chief or primary Elements : And this, they say, was the Opinion of *Plato*, who, in his mature and Philosophical Age, held that the Earth was placed at a distance from the Center, for that the middle or principal place was reserved for some more noble and refined Body.

These *Pontifices* [or Chief Priests] were to have the principal direction, where occasion required, of the Rites to be observed at Funerals : (1) *Numa* having taught them that they should not think they contracted any uncleanness by such things, but should perform the usual Service to the Infernal Gods, who then received the principal part of what properly belongs to us, but more particularly to the Goddess called *Libitina*, who presided over the holy Ceremonies performed about the deceased, whether they meant hereby (2) *Proserpina*, or (as some of the most learned *Romans* will have it) *Venus* : for they, not without good reason, attributed the beginning and end of Man's Life to the same Original Cause and Virtue of a Deity.

Numa also prescribed Rules for regulating the Days of Mourning, according to certain Times and Ages. As for example, not to mourn at all for a Child under three Years old ; nor for one older,

(1) One may infer from this Passage that the Tradition of the *Jewish* Ceremonies had passed over into *Italy*; for without doubt it was from thence they had entertain'd a Notion that the Priest who had seen a Corps had contracted a Pollution.

(2) *Venus* and *Proserpine* were

one and the same Deity. Her Temple was called the Temple of *Venus Libitina*. There was likewise at *Delphi* a *Venus Epitumbia*, Sepulchral *Venus*, who presided over Funerals, and before whom they rais'd up the Souls of the Dead.

more than so many Months as It was Years old, as far as ten. But the longest time of Mourning for any Person whatsoever was not to exceed the term of ten Months; which also was the time appointed for Women who had buried their Husbands to continue in the state of Widowhood. And she that married again before that time was over was obliged by the Laws of *Numa* to (1) sacrifice a Cow big with Calf [for Expiation of her Fault.]

Numa also was Founder of several other Orders of Priests; two of which are worthy to be here mentioned, namely, the *Salii* and the (2) *Fetiales*; which, with other Instances, are clear Proofs of the great Piety and Religion of this Person. These *Fetiales*, being in my Opinion a sort of Conservators of the Peace (or what the *Greeks* call Εἰρηνοφύλακες) and having their Name from their Office, determined all Controversies by Word of Mouth: for they would not allow Arms to be taken up, until they

(1) By a Sacrifice so shameful, and abhorrent to Nature *Numa* propos'd to keep the Women in due Bounds, and hinder their marrying again till the days of Mourning were expired. Their Mourning Habit was of black without Gold, Purple, or any sort of Trimming. On some Occasions they were allow'd to quit it for a time, and then put it on again; as when a Father, Brother, or Son return'd from Slavery; when some of the Family were advanced to any considerable Employment; upon the performance of a Vow of a Sacrifice to *Ceres*, and on a Thanksgiving to the Gods for any notable and fortunate Event, whether publick or domestick.

(2) It is said that *Numa* borrow'd this Institution from the old Inhabitants of *Latium*, or

from Those of *Ardea*. It is not to be doubted but it was first introduced into *Italy* by the *Pelasgi*, who had always some Persons of a sacred Character that marched at the Head of their Armies, without any other Arms or Weapons than a *Caduceus* adorn'd with Fillets. *Dionysius* attributes to the Institution of this Order all the good Success that attended the *Romans* in their Wars. For, saith he, *because the Romans never embark'd in any War without just Motives, therefore have they been always favour'd with the divine assistance, and been blest with Success.* These *Fetiales* were likewise called *Oratores*, which would incline one to believe they were so call'd not from *facere*, to do, but from *fari*, to speak, or declaim.

had

had declared all Hopes and Expedients rejected which tended to an Accommodation: (1) By the word [*Eiêvyn*, or] Peace, the *Greeks* mean a Determination of Matters in dispute by Reason or Discourse, and not by Violence or Force. Now these *Fetiales* of the *Romans* were frequently dispatched to Those who had offered them Injury, requiring reasonable Satisfaction; and in case they made not a reasonable Return, they then called the Gods to witness against them, and used many bitter imprecations both upon themselves and their Country if their undertaking were not just, and so denounced War. The Sense of the *Fetiales* in this case was of absolute necessity, for without their Consent it was neither lawful for any private Soldier, nor even the *Roman King* himself, to take up Arms; and from Them the General took his Rules concerning the Justice of his Cause, which being adjudged, and the War determined, then he was to deliberate of the fittest manner and ways to manage and carry it on. It is believ'd, that the Slaughter and Destruction which the *Gauls* made of the *Romans*, was a just Judgment on the City for neglect of this religious Proceeding: For it happen'd that as this barbarous Nation was besieging the *Clustrians*, *Fabius Ambustus* was dispatched to their Camp with Propositions of Peace in favour of the besieged; but receiving a rude and peremptory Answer thereunto, and therefore imagining that his Treaty was at an end, and that he had fully complied with the duty of his Embassy; he rashly took Arms for the *Clustrians*, and challenged the stoutest and bravest of the Enemy to a single Combat. It was the fortune of *Fabius* to kill his Adversary, and to take his Spoils; which when the *Gauls* understood, they sent a

(3) For the Peace into which | and is observ'd no longer than
we are driven by Force, is rather | whilst the party that is worsted
a State of Servitude than Peace, | cannot help it.

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Herald to *Rome* to complain against *Fabius*, who, before a War was published, had, against the Law of Nations, made a breach of the Peace. The matter being debated in the Senate, the *Fetiales* were of Opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be consigned into the Hands of the *Gauls*: but he, being pre-adviced of this Judgment, fled to the People, by whose Protection and Favour he was secured, and escaped the Sentence. And soon after this the *Gauls* marched with their Army to *Rome*, where they sacked the whole City, except the Capitol: The particulars of all which are at large related in the Life of *Camillus*.

But as to the Priests called *Salii*, they are said to (1) have been instituted upon the following occasion. In the eighth Year of the Reign of *Numa*, a terrible Pestilence, which was spread over all *Italy*, did likewise miserably infest the City of *Rome*: at which the Citizens being greatly affrighted, and despairing of Health, it is reported that a brazen Target fell from Heaven into the Hands of *Numa*; and that the King himself gave this wonderful account of it, which he had learnt from the Nymph *Egeria* and the *Muses*, that That Target was sent from Heaven for the Cure and Safety of the City; and that it was to be kept with the greatest care imaginable, which was to be done by making eleven others, so like in all dimensions and form to the Original, that in case there should be a

(1) There were only twelve of These at first instituted by *Numa*, who chose them out of the best Families in *Rome*. To These in process of time Others were added; and This Order was founded in Imitation of the *Cu-rites*, or Priests of *Jupiter*. Their procession was perform'd in the Month of *March*, and continued for fourteen days, according to the

Number of the Wards of *Rome*, for they visited but one Ward in a day. In each of these Wards they had a House, or Hall, where they were entertain'd with great Magnificence at the Expence of the Publick, so that they became a Proverb, and when one was to describe a luxurious Feast it was call'd the Feast of the *Salii*.

design

design to steal it away, the true one which fell from Heaven might not be distinguished or known from Those which were counterfeited; he farther declared that he was commanded to consecrate that Place and the Meadows about it to the *Muses*, where he had often entertained a free intercourse and communication with them; and that the Fountain which watered that Field should be made sacred, and hollowed for the use of the Vestal Virgins, who were daily to wash and cleanse the *Penitralia* of their Sanctuary with those Holy Waters. It is said that the truth hereof was speedily verified by a miraculous cessation of the Pestilence; whereupon *Numa* immediately produced the Target, and commanded the best Artists to try their skill, and vie with each other in making an exact likeness: but all the rest despaired of coming up to it; only one *Veturius Mamurius*, an excellent Master, happily hit upon it, and made one so to represent the other in all respects, that *Numa* himself was at a stand, and could not distinguish the true from that which was counterfeited. The keeping of which Targets was committed to the care of these Priests called *Salii*; who did not receive their name, as some imagine, from one *Salius*, who was born at *Sámothrace*, or at *Mantineá*, who taught the way of dancing in Arms; but rather from that kind of jumping Dance which the *Salii* themselves use, when in the Month of *March* they carry the sacred Targets through the City: at which Procession they were habited in a short scarlet Cassock, girt with a broad Belt clasp'd with brass Buckles; on their heads they wore a Copper Helmet, and ever and anon sounded on the Targets with short Scimiters: in this manner they proceeded with a nimble motion, and just measures of their Feet, and with such handsome and various turns, as demonstrated great

great strength and agility of Body. These Targets were called *Ancylia* from the fashion of them; for they were not made round, nor was their Circumference of the same figure as the Shields called *Peltae*; but were cut after the manner of of a * Spiral line, the Extremities of which having certain flexures and foldings into one another, make a Curvé figure, (in Greek ἀγκύλον;) or else they might be so named from the *Cubit*, (which is from the Wrist to the Elbow,) called in Greek ἀγκών, on which they carry these *Ancylia*. These are the accounts which *Juba* gives of them, out of his great desire to make the Name Greek. But (if the Name must needs be derived from the Greek Tongue) it may as well come from ἀνέκαθεν πορᾶς, which signifies as much as Sent from above; or from ἀκέρως, which is Cure or Medicine of Diseases; or from αὐχμῶν λύσις, which is a Deliverance from great driness; or from ἀνάχεσις, which is an Escape from great evils; whence it is that the *Athenians* called *Castor* and *Pollux* Ἀνακας. It is reported that the Reward which *Mamurius* received for this his Art, was to be mentioned and commemorated in a Song which the *Salii* sang as they danced in their Arms through the City. Some will have it that they sung *Veturium Mamurium*, but Others say it was *Veterem Memoriam*, which is *Antient Remembrance*.

* γραμμῆς
ἐλικοειδὲς

After *Numa* had in this manner instituted these several Orders of Priests, he erected a Royal Palace near the Temple of *Vesta*, called to this day *Regia*; where he spent the most part of his time in the business of Religion, either instructing the Priests, or out of zeal and devotion to divine Matters, entertaining himself with their Conversation. He had also another House upon the Mount *Quirinalis*; the place where it stood they shew to this

this Day. In all publick Processions, and in general in all Processions of the Priests, Tipstaves or Ushers were sent before to give notice to the People, that they should keep Holiday, and forbear their ordinary Labour. For as they say that the *Pythagoreans* did not allow Men to Worship or make Prayers to the Gods, as it were by the bye, [as when the religious Processions did obviously occur,] but obliged them to go directly from their Houses with Minds prepared for the very purpose: So *Numa* in like manner decreed, that his Citizens should neither see nor hear Divine matters in a perfunctory manner, and with wandering thoughts; but laying aside all other affairs of the World, should apply and elevate their Meditations to Religion, as a business of the greatest Moment: and that the Streets should be clear of noise or hammering, or crying and groaning, and all such Obstructions as are the usual Effects of manual Labour, that no disturbance might be given to the holy Solemnity. Something of this Custom remains at *Rome* to this day; for when the Consul is employed either in taking an Augury, or sacrificing, they call out to the People, *Hoc age*, or attend to the work in hand, whereby the Auditors then present are admonished to recollect and compose themselves. And many other of his Institutions have a great resemblance to those of the *Pythagoreans*; for as they had such Precepts as these, (1) *Thou shalt not make a Peck-Measure thy Seat to sit on*: (2) *Thou shalt not stir the Fire with a Sword*: (3) *When thou goest out up-*

(1) That is, Thou shalt not give thyself up to Idleness, but labour daily, for He that do's not Work ought not to Live.

(2) That is, Thou shalt not ir-

ritate Him who is already in a Passion.

(3) This Symbol is related in a different manner, and *Plutarch* himself gives it this turn on another

on a Journey, look not behind thee : When thou sacrificest (1) to the Celestial Gods, let it be with an odd number ; and when to the Terrestrial, let it be with even ; the Meaning of which they would not disclose to the Vulgar : So some of Numa's Institutions have a secret and abstruse Meaning ; such as these : Thou shalt not sacrifice to the Gods an Offering of Wine proceeding from a Vine which was never pruned. (2) No Sacrifices shall be performed without Meal. Turn round in adoration of the Gods, and Sit down when you have worshipped. The two first Precepts seem to teach the cultivating the Fruits of the Earth as a part of Religion ; and as to the Turning which the Worshippers are to use in divine Adoration, it is said to be in imitation of the circular motion of the World. But in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that because, the Temples looking (or opening) towards the East, he who comes in to worship turns his Back upon the rising Sun, he should change his posture, and turn about towards the God : Thus making a Round, and finishing his Prayer on both hands. Unless, perhaps, this change of Posture may have a mystical Meaning (3) like the *Ægyptian*

ther Occasion, Never return from the Borders ; but it all comes to the same thing, for by it is meant, that One ought to die courageously and full of hope, without any hankering after Life.

(1) Because the odd Number is more perfect, and the Symbol of Concord, as being indivisible, whereas an even Number may be divided, because of the Equality of its Parts ; for which Reason it is the Symbol of Division. And for the same Reason the first Month was consecrated to

the Celestial, and the second to the Terrestrial Deities.

(2) There are two Reasons for this Precept ; the first is what *Plutarch* mentions in this Place, it is to recommend Agriculture, for unless the Land be cultivated no Grain is to be expected. The second is to wean Men from Sacrifices of blood, and to induce them to offer to the Gods nothing but Cakes, or Figures of Victims form'd in Paste.

(3) *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes a Passage out of a Grammarian call'd

tian Wheels, and signify to us the instability of human Fortune; and that which way soever God should change and turn our Condition of Life, we should be pleased and satisfied with our Lot. As to the sitting quiet and in a reposed posture after Worship, they say it denoted a concession, or grant of the Petitions they made, and an assurance of the Continuance of good things for the future. And they say likewise that Cessation from work was the full stop or period of business already performed: from whence now designing to begin others, they were to present themselves before the Gods, to obtain their blessings, and success on that which was to follow. And this form of Ceremony did very well suite with the preceding Doctrine: For by this the Law-giver teaches us not to supplicate the Gods in a hurry, or transiently, as if we were in haste; but when we have time and leasure from worldly business. By such discipline as this in respect of the Deity, the City became so tame, and stood in such awe and reverence of the power of *Numa*, that they received and believed the most absurd Fables, and thought nothing incredible or impossible, which he thought fit to deliver.

There goes a story, (1) That he once invited a great number of Citizens to an Entertainment, at which the Dishes in which the Meat was served

call'd *Dionysius* of *Thrace*, who writes, that the *Aegyptian* Priests presented to such as came to offer up their Prayers in their Temples a Wheel, which they turn'd about, and some Flowers. The Wheel was design'd to make them reflect on the Instability of humane Affairs, and the Flowers were to remind them of the Shortness of Life, which fades

soon like Flowers. These *Aegyptian* Wheels may be taken from the mysterious Wheels which appear'd to *Ezekiel*. *Ezech. Cap. 1.*

(1) The Machines that wrought this Miracle wou'd not be thought too gross, if the Change had been made in the Presence of all the *Romans*, and whilst they were at Table; but *Dionysius*, a very judicious Writer, tells it after a

more

served were very homely and plain, and the Commons short, and the Meat ill dressed. The Guests being sat, he began to tell them, that the Goddess which was his familiar Spirit, and always conversant with him, was then just a coming in, when on a sudden the Room was furnished with all sorts of precious Pots and Dishes, and the mean Fare converted into a most magnificent Feast, adorned with all sorts of the most delicious Viands. But the Dialogue which is reported to have passed between him and *Jupiter*, surpasses all the fabulous Legends that were ever invented. The Story goes, that before Mount *Aventine* was inhabited or inclosed within the Walls of the City, while it was full of Springs and shady Groves, two Demi-gods, *Picus* and *Faunus*, did use to frequent it, which in other respects one would guess to have been *Satyrs*, or of the (1) *Titanian* race, except only that they went about *Italy* showing wonderful Feats by the vertue of Pharmacy and the power of Magical Charms, in the same manner as those (2) whom the *Greeks* call the *Dactyli* of

more probable Manner. He saith, that *Numa* order'd the *Romans* to attend him in the Morning, and that he led them into all the Apartments of his Palace where nothing was to be seen but very ordinary Furniture, without any Tokens of an Entertainment design'd for a great Number of Guests. That he dismiss'd them not till it was very late in the day, and at the same time invited them to sup with him that Evening; that at their Return they found every thing magnificently rich, the Beds exceeding costly, a Buffet sumptuously furnished, and a

Table cover'd with the greatest Rarities and Dainties.

(1) The printed Copies have *Τιτάνων*; but some MSS have *Πάνων*, i. e. such Gods as *Pan*, which seems a better reading.

(2) These *Dactyli* were the same with the *Curetes*, with whom *Rhea* intrusted the Guardianship of *Jupiter* whilst he was yet in his Infancy. They were in Number Five, or as Some say Ten, and All of Mount *Ida* in *Crete*. As they were benevolent to Mankind, they had Honours paid to them as to Demi-Gods. Their very Name was look'd on as an infallible

The LIFE of

of Mount *Ida*. (1) *Numa* contriving one day to surprize these Demi-gods, mingled the Waters of the Fountain, of which they did usually drink, with Wine and Honey, which so pleased these liquorish Deities, that he easily ensnared and took them: they changed themselves into many various forms and shapes, intending, under horrid and unknown transmutations, to make their escape; but when they found themselves entrapped in inextricable toils, and in no possibility to get free, they revealed unto him many secrets and future events; and particularly an expiatory Charm for Thunder and Lightning, which they composed of Onions and Hair, and Pilchards: But some say, that these Demi-gods did not discover the secret of this Charm to *Numa*; but that by the force of their Magick Art and Spells, they constrained *Jove* himself to descend from Heaven to satisfy the demands of *Numa*; and that he then, in an angry manner answering his enquiries, told him, That if he would charm the Thunder and Lightning, he must do it with his Heads. How, said *Numa*, with the Heads of Onions? No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of Men. But *Numa*, willing to divert the cruelty of this Receipt, turned it another way, saying, Your meaning is, the Hairs of Mens Heads: No, reply'd *Jupiter*, of living—Pilchards, quoth *Numa*, interrupting him. These Answers he was taught to make by the Goddess *Egeria*. Hereupon, they say, *Jupiter* went away pacified [or propitious;] and that from his being so, the place

infallible Preservative, and was always pronounced in a terrible Fright, or imminent Danger. There were likewise Stones called *Dactyli Idei*, which were of a Sovereign Virtue, and of which they made Amulets, and wore them on their Thumbs.

(1) This whole Story is in *Ovid's Fasti*, lib. 3. where he gives an Account of the *Salii* and *Ancilia*.

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was called (1) *Illicius*: and thus was this Expiatory Charm effected.

These fabulous and ridiculous Stories serve to shew the superstitious humour of that Age in respect of Religion, which Custom had wrought into them; and even *Numa* himself is said to have been possessed with such a confidence and fiducial trust in the Gods, that when it was told him, that the Enemy was coming, he only smiled, and said, *And I am sacrificing*. He is also said to have been (2) the first that built a Temple to *Faith*, (3) and to *Terminus*; and to have taught the *Romans*, that *Faith* was the greatest Oath they could swear by, which they continue to use to this day. *Terminus* is as it were the God of *Bounds*, and to Him they do sacrifice both publick and private, upon the borders [or boundaries] of their lands. Now, indeed, they sacrifice living Creatures; but antiently those Sacrifices were solemnized without Blood, it being the Doctrine of *Numa*, that the

(1) i. e. from *ilæwæ*, which signifies propitious; but this seems to be *Plutarch's* Mistake. For *Jupiter* was called *Elicius*, from the Word *Elicere*, as *Ovid* informs us upon this very Occasion. *Fast. lib.*

*Eliciant Cælo te, Jupiter. unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.*

(2) This he did to the End a Promise might, without the Formalities of Writings and Witnesses, be as valid and effectual as if it had passed under all the Obligations of the most solemn Contracts. And *Polybius* gives this honourable Testimony of the *Romans*, that they most inviolably kept their Word

without being obliged to it by Bail, Witness, or Promise; whereas ten Securities, twenty Promises, and as many Witnesses would have no Effect upon the faithless *Greeks*, whom nothing could oblige to be honest.

(3) This *Terminus* was a Stone, a Boundary consecrated to *Jupiter Terminalis*, or the God of the Borders. That the People might be brought to content themselves with their own Possessions, and not encroach upon their Neighbours, *Numa* ordain'd, that not only every private Person, but even the Generality should mark out their Lands by Butts, or Landmarks, and that whoever remov'd them should be devoted to *Jupiter Terminalis*, after which he might be slain with Impunity.

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God of Bounds, who was a keeper of Peace and witness of Justice among them, ought to be kept pure and unpolluted from blood and slaughter. It is very clear, that it was This King who first prescribed Bounds to the Territories of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would never go about to make so plain a Confession how much he had encroached on his Neighbours Lands, as he must have done by setting Limits to his Own; for as Bounds are Fences and Curbs against arbitrary Invasions, to Those who observe them, so they serve for Evidences [to arise in Judgment] against Those, who break over [and violate the borders with which they are circumscribed.] The truth is, the Portion of Lands which belonged to the City of *Rome*, at the beginning, was very narrow; but *Romulus* by War enlarged it very much. Now all this Land *Numa* divided amongst the indigent part of the Citizens, that by this means he might keep them from extreme Want, which is the necessary Cause of Mens injuring one another; and might turn the Minds of the People to Husbandry, whereby Themselves as well as their Land would become better cultivated and more tractable. For there is no way of Life that either so soon or so powerfully produces the love of Peace, as the life of Husbandry, whereby so much Warlike Courage is preserved as enables Men to fight in defence of what is their Own, but all boldness in acts of Injustice and Encroachment upon Others is restrained and destroyed. Wherefore *Numa*, that he might take and amuse the Hearts of his Citizens with Agriculture or Husbandry, chusing it for them as an Employment that rather begets Civility and a peaceable Temper than great Opulency and Riches, divided all the Lands into several parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagus* or Borough, and over each of them he appointed Overseers, and such

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as should go about and inspect them. And sometimes he would himself in Person take a Survey of them ; and making a Judgment of every Man's Inclinations and Manners, by his Industry, and the Improvements he had made, he prefer'd Those to Honours and Authority who had merited most ; and on the contrary, reproaching and chiding the sluggishness of Such, as had given themselves over to a careless and a negligent Life, he reduced them to better Order. But among all his political Institutions, That which is most admired is his distribution of the People into Companies, according to their several Arts and Professions. For whereas the City did consist of, or rather was distinguish'd (as we have said) into two Kinds of People, and could not by any means be united, it being impossible to efface the strangeness and difference between them ; but that there would be perpetual Clashing and Contention of the two Parties : Having considered that hard Bodies, and such as are not easily incorporated so long as they remain in their gross bulk, by being beaten into a Powder, or reduced into small Atoms, are often cemented and consolidated into One : He determined to divide the whole People into many lesser parts, and from thence by casting them into other Distinctions, to abolish that first and great Distinction, which was thus scattered into smaller parts. This distribution was made according to the several Arts, or Trades, of Musicians, Goldsmiths, (1) Masons, Dyers, Shoe-makers, Tanners, Brasiers and Potters ; and all other Handy-crafts-men he composed and reduced into a single Company, appointing unto every one their respective (2) Halls, Courts, and Ceremonies

(1) Or Carpenters, for the Word *Τεχνῶνες* includes all sorts of Builders. (2) Κοινωνία, what Latin Authors call *Collegia*, or *Sodalitia*.

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of Religion proper to their several Societies. Thus it was, that he first banished out of the City the Custom of calling and reputing one a *Sabine*, another a *Roman*, one a *Partisan* of *Tatius*, another of *Romulus*; so that this distribution became the means of well uniting and mixing all of them perfectly together.

Among the rest of his political Institutions is likewise highly commended his Amendment of that Law, (1) which gives power to Fathers to sell their Children; for he exempted such as were married from that Subjection, conditionally that they had match'd themselves with the liking and consent of their Parents: for it seemed very hard and unjust, that a Woman, who had given herself in Marriage to a Man whom she judged free, should afterwards find herself bound to live with a Slave.

He attempted also something towards [reforming (2) the Course of the Year,] or Motions of the Heavenly Bodies, which though it was not perfectly exact, yet was it not without some degree of Skill: For during the Reign of *Romulus*, they made use of Months which had no certain Rule or Measure; for to some of them they assigned scarce so much as 20 Days, but to others 35, and to others more. But they had no No-

(1) *Romulus* had allow'd Fathers a greater Power over their Children, than Masters had over their Slaves. A Master cou'd not sell his Slave but once, whereas a Father might sell his Son three times, let him be of what Age, or Condition soever. The Law runs thus: *Si Pater Filium ter vendidit, Filius a Patre liber esto.* When a Father has sold his Son a third time, the Son is no longer under the Power of his Father. In

Greece the Father's Power over his Children ceased when they became of Age. Whereupon *Dionysius* observes, that there were more ungracious Children among the Greeks than among the Romans; so true it is, that Nature stands in need of being rectified, and confirm'd by Discipline.

(2) In the printed Copies it is *περὶ τὸν ἔπαρόν*, but in some MSS it is *περὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν*, the Translation takes in both.

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tion of the difference between the motions of the Sun and Moon: only they kept to this account, that the whole Course of the Year contained 360 Days. But *Numa* observing that there was eleven Days difference [between the Lunary and the Solar Year;] for that the Moon compleated her anniversary Course in 354 Days, and the Sun in 365: to remedy this Inequality, he doubled the eleven Days, and every other Year he added an Intercalary Month of two and twenty Days, which the *Romans* call'd the Month of *Mercidinus*: but this (1) his Amendment of the irregularity did in time require a further Amendment. He also asserted the order of the Months: for *March*, which was reckon'd the first, he put into the third place; and *January*, which in the time of *Romulus* was the eleventh, he made the first; and *February*, which was the twelfth and last, to be the second. Some will have it, that *Numa* entirely added the two Months of *January* and *February*: and that Originally they used but ten Months to the Year; as some Barbarous Nations had only Three: and among the *Greeks* the *Arcadians* had only Four, and the *Acarnanians* Six. (2) The *Ægyptian* Year (they say) consisted

(1) The Calendar had been revised five or six times after it had been settled by *Numa*, and before *Julius Caesar*; but what *Plutarch* speaks of here is the Reformation made by *Julius*. For in spite of all former Corrections, such a Disorder had crept in that the Summer ceas'd to be the Time of Harvest, the Autumn of Vintage, and the Winter Months came to be reckon'd in the Summer Season. *Caesar* therefore ordain'd that the Year should be Solar, that is, that it should consist of 365 Days, and

6 Hours; and that at the end of every 4th Year there should be an intercalary Day, compos'd of the 6 Hours which had been the Excess of each preceding Year respectively. *Caesar* was not the Inventor of this Scheme, which had been known long before by the *Greeks*, and almost all other Nations, but He ordain'd the observance of it. The practical Part was owing to Him, the sciential to the antient Astronomers.

(2) This is the Imagination of Those who labour to make the

sisted at first of one Month, afterwards of four. And therefore (1) though they inhabit a New Country, yet they seem to be a very Antient People, (2) and reckon an incredible Number of Years in their Chronology, because they account Months for Years. And that the *Romans* at first comprehended the whole Year within ten, and not twelve Months, may be guessed from the Name of that which is last in Order; (3) for to this Day they call it *December*, [*i. e.* the tenth Month;] and that *March* was the first is likewise evident, for that the fifth Month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the sixth *Sextilis*, and so

vain Supputation of the *Ægyptians* consistent with the Truth, for they reckon'd a Succession of Kings for the Space of Six and thirty thousand Years, and upwards; but the Falsity of This is evident from the Holy Scripture; and even *Herodotus* saith, that the *Ægyptians* were the first that began to compute by Years, and that they made the Year consist of twelve Months.

(1) I can't conceive where *Plutarch* learn'd that *Ægypt* was a New Country, for on the contrary it is very antient, as we learn from Scripture. In *Isaiah*, the *Pharaohs* Kings of *Ægypt* call themselves Sons of the antient Kings who had govern'd *Ægypt* from the Beginning of time. And We know that at the time when *Abraham* went down into *Ægypt* it had for a long time before That been govern'd by Kings.

(2) This was not because their Year consisted of but one Month only, but because of the fabulous Reigns of their Gods and Demigods, which they falsely added to the Caralogue of their Kings that

had actually reign'd.

(3) This way of reasoning in *Plutarch* might be as fallacious when apply'd to that Age, as it wou'd be if apply'd to This. For supposing the Year to end with a Month which is call'd the Tenth, it does not therefore follow that it had not Twelve. The Month of *December* might be so called, not because the Year had no more than Ten, but because the Year commencing with the Month of *March*, *December* was the Tenth in Order, and was follow'd by *January* and *February*, which were the Eleventh and Last. For this Reason *Fenestella* and *Licinius Macer* have refuted *Plutarch's* Opinion, as entirely contrary to all Antiquity, and have maintain'd that the antient Year, before the Foundation of *Rome*, consisted of 354, or 355 Days, and consequently of Twelve Months, since their Months were Lunar, as is manifestly prov'd by the antient way of counting by Calends, Nones, and Ides, which was in Use before *Romulus*, for it was practis'd by the *Latins*.

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the rest : For if *January* and *February* had in this Account preceded *March*, the forementioned Month [*Quintilis*] would be the *fifth* in Name, but the *seventh* in order of reckoning: And besides, it is very probable that the Month of *March*, which was by *Romulus* dedicated to *Mars*, was named First, and the Second (1) *April*, so called from *Aphrodite*, [or *Venus*] (2) for in this Month the Women sacrifice to that Goddess, and are bathed on the Kalends, or first Days of it, with Myrtle Garlands on their heads. But Others say, *Aprilis* is not from *Aphrodite*, but being with a single *p*, they rather deduce the Name of the Month from the Word *Aperio*, which in *Latin* signifies to open, because that this Month is in the high Spring, when all Buds and Flowers open and disclose themselves: The next is called *May*, from *Maia* [the Mother of *Mercury*,] for to *Mercury* this Month was made sacred: then *June* follows, so call'd from (3) *Juventas*, [or the Youthful Season of the Year,] But there are Some who say, that these two Months have their Names from the two Ages, *Old* and *Young*, for in *Latin* the Older Men are called *Majores*, and the Younger

(1) *Romulus* having given the Name of his Father *Mars* to the first Month of the Year, thought fit to give the second That of the Mother of *Aeneas*, which was *Venus*; to the end that the two first Months of the Year might bear the Names of the two Divinities, to which the Roman Empire ow'd its Being. But *Cincius* looks on This as a childish Account, and approves of the second Etymology, mention'd here by *Plutarch*. *Ovid* takes Notice of Both, but seems to give it for the Former;

(2) On the first of *April* all the married Women sacrificed to *Venus*, at the same time bathing her Statue, and Themselves likewise; they also offer'd Incense to *Fortuna Virilis*, desiring her to conceal from their Husbands their Defects, if they had any,

(3) Ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας the printed Books have it, but *H. Stephens* rather supposes it should be ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρας, i. e. from *Juno*, as it is in some MSS. and this Account is also given by *Ovid* in his *Fæstus* if it be from *Juventa*, then it should be ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡένης.

Juniores.

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Juniores. To the other Months also they gave Denominations according to their Order, so the fifth was called *Quintilis*, *Sextilis* the sixth; and so the rest, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called *July* from the Name of that *Cæsar* who overcame *Pompey*; as also *Sextilis* was called *August*, from the Second *Cæsar*, who was named *Augustus*. (1) *Domitian* also, in imitation hereof, gave the two other following Months his two Names, [of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*,] for a little while; but, he being slain, they recovered their antient Denominations of *September* and *October*; but the two last, *i. e.* *November* and *December*, have only kept the Names of the Order in which they stand, without alteration from the beginning. As for the Months which were either added, or at least transposed in their order, by *Numa*, *February* may be lookt upon as the Month of *Purification*, for so the Name [which comes from the Word *Februo*] signifies, and then it is they make expiation for the (2) Plants, and celebrate the Feast of *Lupercalia*, in which many Ceremonies agree with the Solemnities used on the Lustrations or Cleansing Days: and *January*, the first Month, is so call'd from *Janus*; and it seems to me very probable that *Numa* removed the Month of *March*, (which is so called from *Mars*) out of its præcedency [and assigned it to *January*] with a design to signify his preferring Political Virtues before Martial, in all respects. For this *Janus* in Antient times, whether he were Demi-god or King, being a great Politician (3) and one that studied the

(1) He caus'd himself to be call'd *Germanicus*, and gave his two Names to those two Months, because he was born in the One, and advanced to the Empire in the Other,

(2) In the printed Copies *τοῖς*, but some MSS have *οἱ* *τοῖς*, that is, *the Dead*, which seems the better reading.

(3) There never was such a Person as *Janus*. *Janus* was a Symbolical

the good of Society, is said to have changed the brutish and wild Natures of Men into a gentle and civil disposition; for which reason they figure him with two Faces, beholding at the same time the two different States and Constitutions of Human kind. He has a Temple at *Rome* with two Gates, which they call the Gates of War: For it is the Custom for this Temple to stand open in the time of War, and shut in the times of Peace; of which latter there was very seldom an Example: for when the *Roman* Empire was enlarged and extended to its utmost bounds, it was so encompassed with barbarous Nations and Enemies, that it was seldom or never at Peace. (1) Only in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, after he had overcome *Anthony*, that Temple was shut: As likewise once before for a little time, when *Marcus Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Consuls; but then it continued not so long, before that Wars breaking out, it was again opened: But during the Reign of *Numa* it was never seen open one day, but continued constantly shut for forty three Years together. So entire a Cessation of all kind of War was there on all Sides. For not only the People of *Rome* were tamed, and as it were charmed by the just and mild Government of their Prince, but even the Neighbouring Cities round about (as if some gentle Breeze or salubrious Air had blown from *Rome* upon them) begun to change their Temper; and a general inclination

Symbolical Name of *Jupiter*, who having an equal Knowledge of what was past, and what was to come, was painted with two Faces. It is said, he polish'd and reform'd the Savageness of the first Ages, because the Knowledge of God first produced that Effect upon the Mind. Some say like-

wise, that *Janus* is the same with *Apollo*, and *Mars*; and Others, that it signifies the Year. But it all returns to the same Principle.

(1) It was shut three times by *Augustus*. The first was after the Defeat of *Anthony*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCXIV. the Second, four

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inclination to Peace and good Government was infused into all, so that every one apply'd himself to the Management of his Lands and Farm, to the quiet Education of his Children, and Worship of the Gods : Festival Days, and pleasant Banquets, mutual Benevolence and kind Entertainment of Friends visiting and conversing freely with each other, without fear or jealousy, were the common Practice over all *Italy*, while from *Numa's* Wisdom, as from a Fountain, an universal Honesty and Justice flowed upon all, and his calm Tranquility diffused it self around every way. So that the high and Hyperbolical expressions of the Poets are said to fall short in describing the happy state of those Days;

*When Spears, and Swords, and direful Arms of War
Were laid aside, and rustied in their places ;
No Trumpet Sounds alarm'd the publick Peace,
But all securely slept —————*

For during the whole Reign of *Numa*, there was neither War, nor Sedition, nor Innovation design-

four Years after, that is in DCCXVIII. and the Third a little before the Birth of our Saviour, in the Year DCCL. tho' Others place this last time in DCCXXXIII. after the *Parthian* Peace. How comes it therefore that *Plutarch* takes Notice only of the first ? In all likelihood he was misled by a Passage in *Livy*, who in his first Book tells us. *Bis deinde post Numa regnum clausus fuit, semel Tito Manlio Consule. post Punicum primum confectum bellum: Iterum, quod nostra Aetati Dii dederunt, ut videremus post bellum Actiacum ab Imperatore Casare Augusto. This Temple has been shut twice since the Reign of Numa: First when*

Titus Manlius was Consul, upon the Conclusion of the first Punic War. We have had the Happiness with our own Eyes to see it shut a second time by the Emperor Cæsar Augustus, after the Defeat at Actium. Plutarch ought to have consider'd that Livy's first Book was wrote immediately after Augustus had shut it the first time, and consequently between That, and the second shutting of it. But This is not all, Plutarch is again mistaken, for this Temple was shut a sixth time by Vespasian after his Triumph over the Jews. Nero alone shut it five times; but he did it without any Grounds, as well in times of War as in Peace.

ed against the State ; nor even so much as any enmity or envy to the Person of the Prince : nor was there any Plot or Conspiracy out of ambitious design to out him of his Government. But either the fear of the Gods who seemed to take a particular Care of his Person ; or a Reverence for his Virtue : or Divine (1) good Fortune, which, during his time, kept Mens Lives free and pure from all such Wickedness ; then produced an effectual instance and proof of the truth of that Opinion of *Plato* which he ventured to deliver many Ages after, in relation to a well-formed Commonwealth, viz. *That the only means to cause a true Cessation, or Cure of Evil among Men, must be from some divine Conjunction of Fortune, when Royal Authority meeting with a Philosophical Mind in the same Person, shall put Virtue in a state of Power and Superiority over Vice.* For the Wise Man is truly happy : and happy also are they who can hear and receive the Words which flow from the Mouth of a Wise Man. Possibly there would be no need of Compulsion or Menaces to subject the Multitude ; but that when they see Virtue in a clear and shining instance manifested in the life of their Prince, they would freely of themselves grow wise, and conform themselves to an innocent and happy life, in friendship and mutual Concord, with Justice and Moderation, wherein consists the noblest end of all (2) political Government, and that Prince is of all others most worthy of Royal Authority who can bring to effect such a life and such a disposition in his Subjects. Now this is what *Numa* seems to have had constantly in his view more than any other Man.

(1) Δαίμονος τύχη, i. e. in Books in Βιβλίαις, but both truth Providence, and so is Δεία Xylander and some MSS Copies, as well as common sense, shew τύχη afterwards.

(2) The word in the Printed that it should be πολιτείας.

The LIFE of

As to his Children and Wives, there is a diversity of Reports by several Authors: Some say that he never had any other Wife than *Tatia*, nor more Children than one Daughter called *Pompilia*. Others will have it that besides Her he left four Sons, namely, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, each of which left a Succession of Noble Families; for from *Pompo* came the *Pomponi*, from *Pinus* the *Pinarii*, from *Calpus* the *Calpurnii*, and from *Mamercus* the *Mamerci*, who for this reason had the surname of *Reges*, that is *Kings*. But there is a third sort of Authors who accuse these [last mentioned Writers] as flattering those great Families, in order to gain their Favour, and affixing to them false Pedigrees pretended to be deduced from *Numa*, and affirm that *Pompilia* was not his Daughter by *Tatia*, but born of *Lucretia*, to whom he was married after he came to his Kingdom: However all of them agree in Opinion, that *Pompilia* was married to *Marcus*, the Son of that *Marcus* who persuaded him to accept the Government; for he accompanied him to *Rome*, where, as a Signal of Honour, he was chosen into the Senate; and after the Death of *Numa*, standing in competition with *Tullus Hostilius* for the Kingdom, and being disappointed of the Election, in high Discontent put an end to his own life [by abstaining from eating.] Howsoever his Son *Marcus*, who had married *Pompilia*, residing at *Rome*, was the Father of *Ancus Marcus*, who succeeded *Tullus Hostilius* in the Kingdom, and was (as it is reported) but five Years of Age when *Numa* died.

Numa's Death was neither sharp nor sudden, but being gradually worn away with old Age and gentle Sickness, (as *Piso* relates) he at last ended his Days a little above fourscore Years old. That which made all the glories of his Life consummate was the honour paid to him at his Funeral, when all the People

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ple that were in Alliance and Amity with him met together at his Interment, with publick Presents and Garlands : The Senators carried the Bier on which his Corps was laid, and the Priests followed and accompanied the solemn Proceſſion ; all the reſt of the train (among which were a great number even of Women and Children) followed with ſuch lamentable Sighs and Tears, not as if they aſſiſted at the burial of an aged and worn out-King, but rather as if each of them had then buried his deareſt Relation in the flower of his Age.

(1) They did not burn his Body, becauſe 'tis ſaid he had given a particular command to the contrary : But they made two Stone Coffins, which they buried under the Hill *Janiculum*, One of which contained his Body, and the Other contained thoſe Books which he had written in the ſame manner as ſome Legiſlators among the *Greeks* wrote their Tables of Laws (called *Cyrbes*.) But he having in his life-time

(1) In the earlieſt Ages Men buried the Dead, committing their Bodies to the Earth, making a religious Point of it. The *Egyptians*, I take it, were the Firſt who departed from that primitive Simplicity, either from a Principle of Superſtition, or Pride. The *Greeks* follow'd their Example, but in a different Manner, for they burnt their Dead, and this Cuſtom was obſerved during the Heroick times; afterwards they returned to the ancient Uſage, as is evident from the Hiſtory of Antiquity, and particularly in the Life of *Solon*. The People of *Italy*, who had received from the *Greeks* the Cuſtom of burning the Dead, retain'd it much longer, and nothing but Chriſtianity was able to aboliſh it. It is true in-

deed that whiſt that Cuſtom generally prevail'd in *Rome*, there were ſome entire Families who did not obſerve it; the *Cornelians* for Inſtance, who cauſed all that died out of their Family to be interred. *Sylla* was the firſt of them that order'd his Corps to be burnt, which he did for fear his dead Body ſhou'd receive ſuch Treatment as he had ſhewn to That of *Marius*. But what cou'd induce *Numa* to break an old Cuſtom, and order his Body to be buried? Without doubt it was owing to that Spirit of Simplicity, which ſhined in all his Actions; and perhaps the Family of the *Cornelii* follow'd his Example, from a particular Veneration they had for the Memory of that excellent Prince.

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The L I F E of

perfectly taught the Priests all that he had written, and habituated them to a perfect skill and practice of every Particular, commanded that these sacred Books should be buried with his Body, as if he thought such secret Mysteries could not be kept and conveyed with sufficient respect in lifeless writing. For this very Reason, they say, the *Pythagoreans* would not commit their Precepts [or Constitutions] to writing, but imprinted them upon the memory, and by way of unwritten instruction, to such as were worthy to receive them. (1) And when their method and manner of solving abstruse Problems in Geometry, which were called occult [or mystical] happened to be discovered to one of the Unworthy, they gave out that the Deity animadverted upon it, and pursued such wicked profaneness with a great and strange Punishment. Upon which account we may more easily pardon [the Mistake of] Those who would fain persuade us that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* lived at the same time and conversed together, since there are so many instances in which they so nearly resemble one another.

Valerius Antias writes, that the Books which were buried in the aforesaid Chests or Coffins of Stone, were twelve Volumes which treated of the sacred Offices, [in *Latin*] and twelve others in *Greek*, containing Matters of Philosophy: and that about four hundred Years afterwards, when *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bebius* were Consuls, there happening to fall a great Rain, by which the Earth that covered the Coffins was broke away, the violence of the torrent displaced the Coffins, so that when

(1) *Jamblichus* says that one *Hippasus* a *Pythagorean* perished in the Sea for having discovered the Method of demonstrating the

Properties of a *Dodecaedrum* inscribed in a *Sphere*. *Jamb. de vita Pythag.* cap. 18 and 34.

the covers fell off One of them appear'd empty, without the least Part or Relique of any Humane Body; in the Other were the Books before mention'd, [still remaining entire;] which when the Pretor *Petilius* had read and perused, he made Oath in the Senate, that in his Opinion, it was inconsistent (1) both with Justice and Religion, for those Books to be divulged, or made publick to the People; whereupon all the Volumes were carried to the Market-place, and there burnt.

It generally happens that due praise and applause follows all Persons eminent for Justice and Virtue, which still grows greater after they are dead, because the Envy rais'd against them seldom outlives them, and some have the happiness to see it die before them. And besides all This, the fortune which beset the succeeding Kings made the Glory of *Numa* shine the brighter. For of the five, which were all that reigned after him, the last was deposed from his Crown, and ended his old Age in Banishment: and of the other four, none died a natural Death, but three of them were cut off by Treason: and *Tullus Hostilius*, who immediately succeeded *Numa* in the Kingdom, deriding most of his eminent Virtues, but especially and above all the rest, his Devotion to the Gods, reproaching it as fit only to make Men lazy and effeminate, he turned the minds of the People to War; yet he did not continue always in this youthful sort of insolence, but having his Mind changed by a dangerous and strange distemper, he fell into such grievous Superstition, as had not the least resemblance to the true Piety and Religion of *Numa*, and besides he implanted this superstitious passion still more strongly in others [by the manner of

(1) The Religion of the *Romans* in *Numa's* time, and so it was not was certainly at this time very thought safe to make such a Discovery. much changed from what it was

his Death] (1) being destroyed by a Thunder-bolt.



The Comparison of Numa with Lycurgus.

AND now since we have gone over the Lives of *Numa* and *Lycurgus*, we must not think much (though the Work be difficult) to collect the Points of difference between the Two thus exposed to view : For as to the qualities common to Both, such as, for Instance, their Prudence and Moderation, their Piety, their Political Virtues, their ability to instruct Others, their deriving (Both of them) the Original of their Laws and Constitutions from the Gods : These all appear sufficiently from their actions. But as to the peculiar excellencies which belong to each of them separately, the first in respect of *Numa* was his accepting a Kingdom, and in respect of *Lycurgus* his resigning it: for the One took it upon him without being desirous of it : the Other gave it up when he had it in Possession. The One, from a private Person and a Stranger, was by Others freely made their Sove-

(1) A Flash of Lightning set Fire to his Palace, and burnt it to Ashes, He, his Wife, his Children and all his Family perishing in the Flames. There are however some Authors who say that *Ancus Martius* taking his Advantage of that Storm, assassinated the King, and set Fire to his Palace. But *Dionysius* laughs at that Account. What likelihood is there saith he, that *Ancus Martius* should commit so enormous a Crime, when he could not be sure to reap the Fruits of it? What likelihood is there that the Romans would advance to the Throne a Person so desperate, with his Hands dipt in Royal Blood? And tho' the Fact might possibly be conceal'd from the Romans, and They be deceiv'd in their Choice, would the Gods have approved that Choice by those happy Presages which they gave in Confirmation of it? Would They have accepted the Sacrifices of a Parricide and Villain? These are the Sentiments of *Dionysius* on this Occasion, Sentiments that do Honour to a Heathen.

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reign; but the Other, from the state of a Prince, voluntarily made himself a private Person. It was glorious in One to acquire a Kingdom by his [reputation for] Justice; and no less glorious in the Other to prefer Justice before a Kingdom. The Virtue which raised the reputation of the One so high as to be thought worthy to wear a Crown, made the Other so great as to despise a Crown.

The second point [of difference] is this: Whereas [in managing the Government] like the turning of an Instrument, *Lycurgus* screwed up That at *Sparta* to an higher pitch, which was grown flat and sunk by Riot; *Numa* let down that at *Rome* to a lower Key, which had been too high and sharp. The great difficulty of the Undertaking was indeed on *Lycurgus's* side; for he did not go about to persuade his Citizens to put off their Armour, and lay by their Swords, but to dismiss their Gold and Silver, and to throw away their fine Furniture and rich Tables: not to cease from War in order to keep Festival Days, and do Sacrifice to the Gods, but to leave off their Feasting and Revelling, in order to take pains, and practise themselves in Arms and laborious Exercises. Upon which account *Numa* effected every thing by way of persuasion, with Good-will and Reverence from his People; but *Lycurgus*, after running great danger, and exposing his Person to a grievous Attack, could not without great difficulty compass his design. But it must be owned that the Muse of *Numa* [*i. e.* his manner of tuning a Commonwealth] was more smooth and full of humanity, in that he gently turned, and as it were soothed his People out of their intractable and fiery disposition into the practice of Peace and Justice. And if we must be forced to ascribe that Case of killing the *Ilotes* (which was a most cruel and wicked act) to the Politicks of *Lycurgus*, we must needs confess that

The Comparison of

that *Numa* was by far (1) the more kind and humane Legislator, who gave even such as were confessedly Slaves, a taste of such respect as belongs to Freemen, by introducing the Custom for them to sit at the Table in Company with their Masters in the time of the *Saturnalia*. (2) For this they say was one of *Numa's* Institutions, who thought it reasonable to admit Such to a share in the Enjoyment of the annual Fruits of the Earth, as shared in the labour of cultivating them. But there are Some who treating in the way of Mythology say that this Custom is still preserved as a Monument of that Equality which was in the Age of *Saturn*, when there was no distinction between the Lord and the Servant; but All lived as Kindred and Relations in a Parity and Condition of Equality.

* Αὐτὰρ-
κεσαν.

However it may be said in general that both [*Numa* and *Lycurgus*] appear to have had the same design, which was to bring their People to a * contented frugality and sobriety of living; and as to the other Virtues, One seems to have had the greatest regard for Fortitude, the Other for Justice; unless they were really forced to go such different ways to work, because the Nature and Customs of the two political Constitutions which they were severally to model were so exceedingly unlike one another. For it was not out of Cowardice, that *Numa* put an end to War, but to prevent the doing acts of Injustice. Nor did *Lycurgus* train up his People to Arms, that they should do injury (or violence) to Others, but that they should not be exposed to injuries Themselves. Thus while each of them

(1) The word in the Original is Ἑλληνικώτερον, i. e. more Grecian-like, which is a real Complement given by *Plutarch* to his own Nation.

(2) I do not remember to have read any where else that the *Saturnalian* Feasts were instituted by *Numa*. Some place the Institution under the Reign of *Tullius Hostilius*, and Others under That

attempted

attempted to cut off what was excessive, and to supply what was defective in the state of their People, they were under a necessity of making great alterations.

And then again, as to the disposition and distribution of the parts of their respective Governments : That of *Numa* was exceeding popular, and fitted to please the Commonalty ; for out of Goldsmiths, Musicians, Shoemakers, [and the rest of the Companies] he made one compounded Populace of all different Professions mixt together : But That of *Lycurgus* was more severe and Aristocratical, for it allowed no Trade or manual Arts to be exercised by any hands but those of Slaves, and such * Foreigners as were Inmates upon sufferance ; but confined such as were Citizens to the Management of the Spear and Buckler, as being only Artisans of War, and Servants of *Mars*, who neither understood nor studied to understand any other Art but how to obey their Commanders and conquer their Enemies. Neither were Freemen permitted to practise any of the ways of growing rich, (that so they might be entirely free once for all) but the business of getting Money was left to their Slaves and the *Ilotes*, as was also the Office of serving up their Suppers and dressing their Meat.

But *Numa* made no such Distinction : He only took care to prevent † Soldiers from getting much in their way [of Plunder,] but prohibited no other [honest] means of growing Rich : nor did he endeavour to level Mens Estates, or reduce them to an Equality, but gave every Man a liberty to amass Wealth, and grow as rich as he was able ; and took no care to provide against Poverty, which by the Additions of poor People, who flocked to the City, increased daily : Whereas in the very beginning, (while there was no great disparity in Mens Estates, but all were pretty much upon a

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level)

* μετοίκων.

† στρατιωτικὰς πλεονεξίας.

level) he ought vigorously to have restrained the covetous desire of having more One than Another, as *Lycurgus* did, and so to have prevented the inconveniencies arising from thence, which were not inconsiderable, but such as gave Birth and Original to those many and grievous troubles which frequently happened in the *Roman* State.

But as to an equal Partition of Lands, neither is *Lycurgus* to be blamed for making it, (1) nor *Numa* for not making it. For this Equality was the very Basis and Foundation of the *Spartan* Commonwealth: But an allotment of Lands having been so lately made [at *Rome*,] there could be no urgent necessity for making a new Partition, nor for altering that first distribution of Property, which, very probably, continued as yet in the same state as it was.

Now as to that Community, in respect of Marriage and the Propagation of Children, which Both of them with very good Policy appointed to prevent Jealousy, they did not entirely take the same method. (2) For a *Roman* Husband having Children enow, or as many as he thought fit to keep, might part with his Wife at the request of Another who wanted Children; having full Power both to divorce her, and take her again, if he pleased. But the *Laconian* Husband allowed the free use of his Wife to any other that desired to have Children by her, and yet still kept her in his House, and retain'd the Bond and Conditions of

(1) *Plutarch* seems here to have forgotten what he had advanced in another Place, that *Numa* divided the Land among the indigent Part of the Citizens; to solve which Contradiction it may be said that *Plutarch* regarded that Division only as a Circumstance that attended Another which had been

made before.

(2) It was long after *Numa's* time before there was any Instance of this Liberty among the *Romans*, as may appear from what *Plutarch* himself says a little after, concerning the first Divorce that happened in *Rome*.

Marriage in the same force and vertue as at first : Nay many Husbands (as we have said) would often invite such Men to their Houses by whom they thought they might hope to have handsome and well-made Children, [which they took for their own]. What then is the difference between these two Customs ? Only this ; that in the One (*i. e.* the *Lacedemonian* Way) there is an absolute and entire unconcernedness about their Consorts, as to those things which give most other Men so much disturbance, and fire them with such jealousy and disquiet all their lives : in the other (*i. e.* the *Roman* way) there was a sort of Simplicity which shewed some respect for Modesty, alledging the Marriage-contract in defence of it, and thereby owning how uneasy it was to endure such a Community in Wedlock. Moreover, the Constitutions of *Numa* as to Virgins were more severe, prescribing Rules to keep them modest, and free from all suspicions of unchastity : but the Orders of *Lycurgus* were in that point more dissolute, (1) giving an indecent liberty to Maids and single Women ; which afforded to the Poets Subject for their raillery, who (as particularly *Ibycus*) gave them the Epithet of φαίνομενίδας, or Wenches with short Petticoats to shew their Thighs ; and ἀνδρομανεῖς, or rampant Girls that run mad for a Man : as *Euripides* saith,

*Who scorn to keep at home, but run abroad
With naked Thighs and open Coats, to vye
With valiant Youths in manlike exercise.*

For indeed the Skirts of the Habit which the Maidens wore were not closed below, but flew open on both sides, so that as they walked their

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Thighs appeared bare. *Sophocles* has plainly described this in the following Passage, where he says that *Hermione* was

*Still like a wanton Girl, with Coats tuck'd high,
And Robe let loose, to shew her naked Thigh.*

Upon this account it is said that the Women were exceeding Confident, and especially that they hen-peck'd their Husbands; because they not only bore an absolute sway at home, but also had the privilege of Votes in publick Assemblies, and liberty of Speech in matters of highest moment. But *Numa* [with better decorum] not only preserved entire to the Matrons all Marks of Honour and Respect from their Husbands, which they had in the Reign of *Romulus*, when they were used with such great kindness to compensate for their Rape; but at the same time he put them under a guard of great Modesty, and obliged them to forbear all meddling Curiosity. He taught them Sobriety, and accustomed them to Silence; for they were (1) prohibited the use of Wine intirely,

(1) *Romulus* ordained the same Penalty for those Women who had drank Wine as for Those who had been taken in Adultery; for he said Adultery open'd the Door to all other sinful Actions, and that Wine open'd the Door to Adultery. *Pliny* writes that a certain Roman, call'd *Egnatius Mecenius*, kill'd his Wife for having drunk some Wine, and that he was acquitted by *Romulus*. And *Fabius Pictor* in his *Annals* relates a Fact that is still more extraordinary, he saith a certain Woman having stoln the Keys of the Cellar, her Relations starv'd her to Death for it. The Severity of this Law was soften'd in the succeeding Ages. The Women were not condemn'd to forfeit their Lives on that Occasion, but their Fortunes, of which *Pliny* gives us the following Example. *Cneius Domitius*, saith He, being Judge in a Cause of that nature between the Husband and his Wife, he declar'd that it appear'd to him that the Wife, unknown to the Husband, had drunk more Wine than was consistent with her Health, and decreed that she shou'd forfeit her Dowry. If this Law was to be renew'd now-a-days, how many Fortunes or Joitures shou'd We have forfeited?

and not allowed the freedom of Discourse even in the most necessary matters, unless in the Company and Presence of their Husbands. So that, as the Story goes, when at a certain time a Woman had the Confidence to plead her own Cause at the Bar in a place of Judicature, it seemed so strange and monstrous a thing, that the (1) Senate sent to enquire of the Oracle, what such a Prodigy might portend to the Commonwealth. And one great Argument to prove the complying Temper and obliging meek Behaviour of these *Roman* Matrons in all other respects, is the memorable notice which is taken of such as were deficient in these Virtues. For as our [*Greek*] Historians record in their Annals the Names of those who first unsheathed the Sword of Civil War, or fought with their Brothers, or murder'd their Fathers or Mothers; so the *Roman* Writers report, that *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who divorced his Wife; being a case that never before happened in the Space of (2) 230 Years from the Foundation of the City; and that one *Thalea* by Name, the Wife of *Pinarius*, was the first that had any quarrel or debate with her Mother-in Law *Gegania*, in the Reign of *Tarquinus Superbus*: so excellently well framed, for the preservation of Decency and Modesty, were those

(1) I wish *Plutarch* had told us *Apollo's* Answer; certainly it had no great Effect upon the *Romans*; for what in those days past for a Prodigy became afterwards very common. One *Amasia Sentia* being accus'd of a Capital Crime pleaded her own Cause before the Prætor, and was acquitted. *Afrania*, the Wife of a Senator, was the errantest Pettifogger that ever was known. She was in every Cause in every Court, and grew so infamous that all med-

ling troublesome Women went by her Name. The Triumvirs having fined the Women in a great Sum of Money, *Hortensia* the Daughter of *Hortensius* the Orator pleaded their Cause with so much Eloquence, and Success, that she got a considerable part of it to be remitted.

(2) *Plutarch* says the same at the end of the Life of *Romulus*, but the Number is mistaken there as well as here, for it should be 520.

Constitutions

Constitutions which this Lawgiver made in relation to Marriages.

Correspondent to the manner of educating the Virgins in other respects, was the method severally taken of bestowing them in Marriage. For *Lycurgus* was for marrying them when they were full ripe and eager for Husbands, that this Conversation with Men, when Nature required it, might be a principle of kindness and love, rather than of hatred and fear towards Those who forced them against the inclinations of Nature : and that their Bodies might have sufficient Strength to undergo the trouble of Breeding and pains of Childbirth, in as much as he took (1) the only end of their Marriage to be the business of bearing Children.

But the *Romans* married out their Daughters at twelve Years of Age, or under, as supposing that by this means not only their Persons but their Humours and Dispositions would come pure and untainted into the management of the Husband [to be formed according to his liking.] Now 'tis plain that the first way [*i. e.* of *Lycurgus*] is more agreeable to the desires of Nature, which only respects the Procreation of Children ; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal Life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living. But however it must be owned that *Lycurgus*, by the care which he took for inspecting the Education of

(1) So that it became the Legislator to take such Measures as might make the Children answer his Desires, that is make them robust, and strong, which will not be where the Mothers are marry'd too young. For it is with Men as it is with Plants and Animals, the Fruits of the youngest sort are generally imperfect, and unprofitable. For this Reason a famous Oracle given to

the *Trojanians*, the literal Sense whereof was that they died because they eat their Fruit whilst it was too green, was expounded as if it had said they died because they marry'd Wives too young, and not that they gathered their Fruit before it was ripe. *Lycurgus* his Institution therefore with Respect to Marriage is preferable to That of *Numa*.

Children,

Children, and collecting them in Companies, their publick Discipline and common Assemblies, together with their regular and orderly management at their publick Suppers, Exercises and Pastimes, gave such a plain instance of his superior skill, as shows that in Comparison to Him *Numa* was no better than One in the ordinary rank of Legislators; forasmuch as *Numa* left the Education of the Youth intirely to the Parents, to be managed according to their own pleasure, or as their necessities required; so that any one was at Liberty, if he pleased, to make his Son a Husbandman, or to teach him the Trade of a Ship-Carpenter, or a Brasier, or a Musician: just as if they had been under no Obligation to have them trained at first to one and the same end, and their Manners made conformable to each other [in order to pursue the common good;] but as if they were all meerly like Passengers in a Ship, where every one comes upon a distinct Interest and Design of his own, and only in time of danger can be got together, for fear of losing their Own to consult the publick Safety, but at all other times consider nothing but their own particular Concerns.

It is not indeed reasonable that we should blame the generality of Legislators, who happen to be deficient in this point, either for want of skill or for want of power to bring their designs to bear: But for so wise a Man as *Numa*, who undertook the Government of a People which had been so lately collected into one Body, and which made not the least opposition to any thing that he had a mind to; what could be more proper, or of more concern, to employ his first and principal care and attention, than the Education of Children and Discipline of Youth, that so they might not grow up to be Men of disagreeable and turbulent Tempers: but being immediately from the very Cradle formed

formed and fashioned to one Common Rule of publick Virtue, might mutually agree to prosecute the same good end. The care which *Lycurgus* took in this matter, (besides its serving to many other good purposes) was of exceeding great advantage towards preserving his Laws inviolate. For the fear of breaking their Oaths [which he made them take to preserve the Constitution] would have signified but little, if he had not by Discipline and Education, as it were, infused his Laws into the Manners of the Children, and made them suck in a Zeal for his political Institutions with their very Milk. So that for above five hundred Years together the fundamental and principal points of his Legal Establishment continued in force, as if it had taken a deep and strong dye, [which could not easily be wash'd out.]

* ἀμφίθυ-
ρον ὄγκον.

But when *Numa* expired, the great end and aim of his Government, which was that *Rome* should continue in Peace and Amity, immediately vanish'd with him. For no sooner was he dead, but * the Temple of *Janus* (so famous for its two Gates) which he had constantly kept shut, (as if he had indeed kept War it self tamed and close pent up in it,) was presently thrown wide open on both hands, and all *Italy* was filled with Blood and Slaughter. And thus one of the finest and justest Constitutions in the World was not able to subsist for any (even the least) considerable time, because it wanted that Cement in it which should have kept all firm together, that is a good Education of Youth.

What then? (will Some say.) Hath not *Rome* advanced it self to a better Condition by the practice of War? A Question this is which requires a long and tedious Answer, if we are to satisfy such Men as suppose this better Condition to consist in Riches, and Luxury, and Dominion over others, rather than

than in quiet Safety, Moderation of Mind, and a contented Enjoyment of our Own, with Justice to Others. However even This will appear to make much for *Lycurgus*, that the *Romans* advanced their State to so great a pitch after they had changed the Constitution from what it was in *Numa's* Days: But the *Lacedæmonians*, on the contrary, as soon as ever they fell from the Observation of those Orders which *Lycurgus* enjoined, from being a very great State, they became a most despicable People; and after they had lost the Command of the rest of *Greece*, were in danger of being themselves intirely destroyed.

But after all it must be allowed that thus much of *Numa* was truly great and God-like, That though an Alien, he was thought worthy to be courted to come and take the Crown: That he altered the whole frame of the Government by meer persuation: and That he kept the absolute Rule over a City consisting of two Parties not yet well compacted, which he did without any occasion to make use of Arms, or any sort of force (such as *Lycurgus* used when he headed the Nobility against the Commons;) but by meer dint of Wisdom and Justice brought every one to concur intirely with him, and settled a perfect harmony among them.





THE
L I F E
O F
S O L O N.

DYDIMUS the Grammarian, in his Answer to *Asclepiades* concerning *Solon's* Tables, mentions a Passage of one *Philocles*, wherein he pretends to shew that *Solon's* Father's Name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the Opinion of all others who have made any mention of *Solon*: for they generally agree that he was the Son of *Execestides*, a Man of moderate Wealth and Power in the City; but a Family of the first Quality, being descended from *Codrus*: his Mother, as *Heracledes Ponticus* affirms, was Cousin to *Pisistratus* his Mother, and these Two at first were great Friends, partly because they were a-kin, and partly because (1) *Pisistratus* was a Person of excellent Qualities,

(1) If ever the excellent Qualities of a Tyrant cou'd change a Tyranny into a legal Monarchy, Those of *Pisistratus* might have wrought that Miracle: for he was of all Men in the World the most inclin'd to Virtue, the most humane, and willing to relieve the Necessities



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Lud. Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.



Fig. 1. The object shown in the photograph.

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ities, and very handsome, which (as Some say,) made *Solon* much in love with him. And for this reason, I suppose, when afterwards they differ'd about the Government, their Enmity never produc'd any harsh and violent Passion; but those old Kindnesses stuck close in their Minds, and kept the remembrance of their former love and dear affection still alive, like glowing Embers of once scorching Fire. For that *Solon* was not Proof against Beauty, nor had Courage enough (like *Champion* stout in closest fight) to resist the Force of Love, we may conjecture by his Poems; and by a Law he forbid Slaves to perfume themselves, or love Boys; making that an honourable Action, and only fit for Gentlemen, and as it were inviting the Worthy to the practice of that, which he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. *Pisistratus* likewise is reported to have lov'd one *Charmus*, and to have consecrated a Statue of Love in the Academy, where those light their Torches (1) that run the sacred Torch-race. *Solon*, as *Ermippus* writes, when

Necessities of the Distress'd, as we shall see hereafter. History also affords us many Instances of his Clemency; and as for his Parts, Learning, and Eloquence, we need only consult the Panegyricks of the Ancients on that Occasion. It is to His Care we are indebted for *Homer's* Poems in the Condition they are at present. He was the first that founded a Library in *Athens*, and gave it for the use of the Publick.

(1) Three times a Year there was a Race in *Athens*, call'd the Torch Race; the First was during the *Panathenaea*, in Honour of *Minerva*; the Second during the Feast of *Vulcan*, in Honour of that God; and the Other in Honour of *Pro-*

metheus, during the Celebration of his Festival. The First of These was perform'd at the Haven of *Piræus*, and the other two in the *Ceramicus*, that is the Park of the Academy. The Youth one after another, ran a certain Course as fast as they could, with lighted Torches in their Hands. He whose Torch happen'd to go out whilst he was running, deliver'd it to Him that was to follow, and so of the rest; and He only was declared Conqueror who performed his Course with his Flambeau unextinguish'd. In the Race at the *Panathenaea*, a Torch all on Fire was thrown from the Top of a Tower, and in the Others he that was to run went and lighted his Torch

The LIFE of

when his Father had ruin'd his Estate in doing Benefits and Kindnesses to other Men, tho' he had Friends enough that were willing to contribute to his relief, yet being asham'd to be beholden to Others, since he was descended from a Family who were accustomed to do Kindnesses rather than receive them, He therefore apply'd himself to Merchandize in his younger Years; tho' Others assure us that *Solon* travel'd rather to get Learning and Experience than to raise an Estate: 'tis certain that he was a Lover of Wisdom, for when he was old he would say,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn.

But he was no Admirer of Riches, esteeming him equally wealthy,

*Who sees vast heaps of Gold at his command,
Fine Horses, and a fair Estate in Land;
And Him, to whom indulgent Fate bestow'd
Sufficient Wealth to buy him Clothes and Food:
But if to this, a Wife, and prattling Boys,
And Youth, and Grace, He hath the height of Joy.*

And in another place,

*I would be rich, and yet to raise my Purse
Not cheat; for Wealth, so got, the Gods will curse.*

Now nothing hinders, but that a virtuous Man and a good Citizen may so order it, as neither to be too solicitous in procuring Superfluities, nor so unconcerned as to despise the use of Things

Torch at *Prometheus's* Altar, near the Statue of Love, which had been consecrated by *Pisistratus*. At the Entry into the Academy there was likewise an Altar of the Love which had been erected by the same *Charmus*, with whom *Pisistratus* was enamour'd.

necessary

necessary and convenient. In those days, (according to *Hesiod*;) (1) it was no shame for a Man to work, nor did a Trade make any difference of Quality. But Merchandize was a very honourable Profession, which brought home the good things which the barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience, in many kinds. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Massilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gauls* that live about the *Rhone*: Some also report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded; (2) and that *Plato* defray'd the Charges of his Travels by selling Oil in *Ægypt*. Now Some suppose that *Solon's* profuse and soft way of living, and his Discourse of Pleasures in his Poems, too loose for a Philosopher, were occasion'd by his Trading Life; for having suffer'd a thousand Dangers, 'twas fit they should be recompens'd with some Pleasures and Enjoyments. But that he accounted himself rather poor than rich, is evident from these Lines;

*Some wicked Men are rich, some Good are poor;
I would not change my Virtue for their Store:
For That's a sure Possession, firm as Fate;
Whilst Wealth now flies to this Man, now to that.*

(1) The Ancients thought so, as we learn from the Holy Scripture. In like manner *Homer* when he is painting his Heroes working, and descending to Offices, which we look upon as Servile, did not only intend thereby to describe to us the Manners, just as they were, which is the Duty of a Poet, but he also labour'd at That which was just and proper, *id quod decorum est Spectans*, saith

Athenaus, εἰς το πρέπον ἀπορῶν. What Opinion therefore must We have of those modern Criticks, with whom nothing will pass Muster that is contrary to the Manners of the present Age? (2) It was usual to trade into *Ægypt* with the Oyl of *Greece* and *Judea*. It is said in the Prophet *Hosea*, that *Ephraim* carry'd Oyl into *Ægypt*. *Cap. 12. v. 1.*

The LIFE of

At first he us'd his Poetry not for any serious purpose, but by way of Diversion, as it should seem, and to pass away his idle Hours: but afterwards he inserted Sentences of Moral Philosophy, and interwove many political Remarks into his Poems, not as Matter of History, or for Memory sake, but such as contained Apologies for his own Actions, and withal some earnest Exhortation, grave Advice, or severe Reprehension to the *Athenians*. Some report, that he design'd to put his Laws into a Poem, and they quote this as the beginning of it:

*First, we implore a Blessing on our Laws
From mighty Jove, and Honour and Applause.*

(1) Of moral Philosophy, as most of the then wise Men, he chiefly esteemed Politicks; in Physics he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this:

*Soft Snow and Hail fall from a frozen Cloud;
From glaring Lightning, Thunder roars aloud;
The Winds make the Seas rough, they vex the Main;
But when they cease to blow, 'tis smooth and plain.*

And indeed 'tis probable, that at that time it was only *Thales's* Wisdom which had gone any further in Speculation than was of absolute use in pra-

(1) *Plutarch* in this place makes Politicks a part of moral Philosophy, which seems quite contrary to the Sentiments of *Aristotle*, who considers the Moral as a part of the Politick. *Aristotle* treats of the Moral by itself, and considers it as what is necessary to every one to make him truly happy. Strictly speaking, Morality teacheth every Man how to live uprightly in all Countries, and under all Governments. The Views of Morality are general, Those of Policy particular, and conformable to the respective Genius, and other Circumstances of the People it is instructing. Under this Consideration Morality is the Genus, and Policy the Species.

Etice;

Etice; and the other six were call'd Wise Men
 from their great Skill in Political Affairs. Fame
 delivers that They had an Interview at *Delphi*, and
 another at *Corinth*, by the procurement of *Peri-*
ander, who made Provision for their Entertain-
 ment: but their Credit and Reputation was chiefly
 raised by sending the Tripod round to them all,
 and their modest returning it, and complaisant
 yielding to one another: For (as the Story goes)
 when some *Coans* once were drawing a Net, and
 some Strangers from *Miletus* had bought the Draught
 at a venture; there chanced to come up a Gol-
 den Tripod, which (they say) *Helen*, at her re-
 turn from *Troy*, upon the remembrance of an old
 Prophecy, threw in there. Now the Strangers
 at first contesting with the Fishers about the Tri-
 pod, and the Cities espousing the Quarrel so far
 as to engage themselves in a War, *Apollo* [to end
 the Controversy,] advised both Parties to present
 it to the wisest Man; and first it was sent to *Mi-*
letus, to *Thales*, the *Coans* freely presenting this
 One Man with That, for which they fought all
 the *Milesians* together. But *Thales* declaring *Bias*
 a wiser Person than himself, it was sent to Him;
 from Him to Another, as yet wiser: and so going
 round them All, it came to *Thales* a second time;
 and at last, being carried from *Miletus* to *Thebes*,
 it was there dedicated to *Apollo Ismenius*. *Theo-*
phrastus writes, that it was first presented to *Bias*
 at *Priene*; and next to *Thales*, at *Miletus*, and so
 through All it returned to *Bias*, and was at last
 sent to *Delphi*. This is the general Report; only
 Some, instead of a Tripod, say this Present was
 a Bowl sent by *Cræsus*; Others, a Cup which one
Bathycles had left. There are Some who give an
 Account of a (1) particular Conversation which

Y 2

Anacharsis

(1) The *Scythians*, long before known'd for their Simplicity, their
 the Days of *Solon*, had been re- Frugality, their Temperance, and
 Justice,

The LIFE of

Anacharsis had with *Solon*, and likewise of Another which *Thales* had, in which there past such Discourse as follows: *Anacharsis* (as the Story goes) coming to *Athens*, knock'd at *Solon's* Door, and told him, That he being a Stranger was come to be his Guest, and contract a Friendship with him: And *Solon* replying, 'Tis better to make Friends at home; *Anacharsis* return'd, Then you that are at home make me your Friend, and take me for your Guest. *Solon* surprized at this ingenious Subtilty of the Man, receiv'd him kindly, and kept him some time with him, whilst he was managing the Common-wealth, and contriving his Laws; which when *Anacharsis* understood, he laught at *Solon's* undertaking, for imagining he could restrain the Injustice and Coverousness of his Citizens by written Laws which were no better than Spiders Webs, and would, like Them, hold only the Weak and Poor, when they were caught, but would be easily broken through by the Mighty and Rich. To This (they say) *Solon* replied, that Men keep their Promises when neither side can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would so fit his Laws to the Citizens, that All would understand 'twas more eligible to be Just and Obey, than act contrary to the Command. (1) But the event proved rather as *Anacharsis* by his Comparison guessed, than as *Solon* hoped it would. *Anacharsis*, being one time at the * Grand Assembly, said, he wondred much that in Greece

* Έκκλη-
σία.

Justice. *Homer* call's them the most upright Nation. *Anacharsis* was One of these *Scythians*, and of the royal Family. He went to *Athens* about the 47th Olympiad, that is 590 Years before the Birth of Christ. His good Sense, profound Learning, and great Experience made him pass

for one of the Seven wise Men. (1) As it will always do on the like Occasions. Laws without Morals are, generally speaking, unprofitable. Manners without Laws are much more available than Laws without Manners.

the

the Wise Men should propose Causes, and Fools determine.

When *Solon* came to *Thales* at *Miletus*, he wondered that *Thales* took no care to get him a Wife and Children. To This *Thales* made no Answer for the present, but a few days after dealt with a Stranger to pretend that he came from *Athens* ten days ago; and *Solon* enquiring what News there, the Man, according to his Instructions, reply'd, None, but only about a young Man's Funeral which the whole City celebrated; for he was (they said) the Son of a Person of great Honour, and the highest Reputation for Virtue of all his Citizens, who was not then at home, but had been abroad upon his Travels a long time. *Solon* reply'd, What a miserable Man is he! but what was his Name? I have heard it, says the Man, but have now forgotten it, only there was a great Talk of his Wisdom and his Justice. Thus *Solon* was drawn on by every Answer, and his Fears heightned, till at last, being extremely concern'd, he mention'd his own Name, and ask'd the Stranger if that young Man was not call'd *Solon's* Son; and the Stranger assenting, he began to beat his Head, and to do and say such things as Men usually do in so great a Passion. But *Thales* held him, and with a Smile said, These are the things, *Solon*, which keep me from Marriage and getting Children, which are able to shake the Courage even of so stout a Man as you: however be not concern'd at this Report, for 'tis all a Fiction. This *Ermippus* delivers from *Pataecus*, who pretended that he had *Æsop's* Soul. But for all this, that Man acts a very silly and mean part, who forbears to provide himself of Conveniences, for fear of losing them; for upon the same account, we should neither love to have Wealth, nor Glory, nor Wisdom, since we may fear to be depriv'd

of all these: Nay even Virtue itself, than which there is no greater, nor more desirable Possession, is often lost by Sickness or Enchantments. *Thales* himself, tho' unmarried, could not be free from Solitude more than others, unless he likewise took Care to avoid having either Friends, or Relations, or Country: But even he had an adopted Child, one *Cybiſthus*, who was (as they say) his Sister's Son. For the Soul having a Principle of Kindness in itself, and being naturally made to love, as well as to perceive, think, or remember, something foreign and improper always comes in and engages this principle of Affection, in Such as have nothing at home proper to employ it upon. Strangers or Bastards insinuating themselves into a good-natur'd Man's Affections, (as they do into an House or Land that wants a lawful Heir) and having got Possession of them, together with his Love to them, they work in him a Care and Concern for fear of losing them; insomuch that you shall see some Men who are earnest Disputers against Marriage, and having of Children; yet, when a Slave's Child, or Harlot's Brat is sick, or dies, the same Men shall be most grievously afflicted for the loss, and make most hideous outcries. Nay Some for the death of Dogs or Horses have grieved most shamefully, as if it were such a Case as no Man living could bear. And yet Others upon the death of virtuous Children, have not been under such violent Concern, nor guilty of a mean Action; but pass'd the rest of their Lives like Men, according to the Principles of Reason. For 'tis not Benevolence, but Weakness, that brings those endless Grievs and Fears upon such Men as are not armed by Reason against the strokes of Fortune: who have not even so much as the present Enjoyment of what they doat so much upon; while the fear of losing it gives them

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them such Pain, Vexation and Torment. But now we must not provide against the loss of Wealth, by Poverty; or the loss of Friends, by refusing all Acquaintance; or death of Children, by getting none; but by a proper use of our Reason against all such Accidents. But of this too much, at present.

Now when the *Athenians* were tired with a tedious and difficult War, which they managed against the *Megarensians* for the Island *Salamis*; and made a Law that it should be Death for any Man, by writing or speaking, to assert that the City ought to endeavour to recover it: *Solon* (vext at the Disgrace, and perceiving thousands of the Youth wish'd for some body to begin the War again, but did not dare to stir first for fear of the Law,) counterfeited a Distraction, and by his own Family it was given out in the City that he was Mad; but he secretly compos'd an Elegy, and getting it by heart that it might seem extempore, he ran out into the Market-place (1) with a Cap upon his head; and whilst the People gathered about him, got upon the Standing of the Cryer, and sang that Elegy which begins thus:

(1) That is, he went out in all Appearance as if he had been sick, for none but Such wore Caps at *Athens*, and to wear a Cap was one of their Prescriptions in Physick, as We find it in *Plato*. Thus *Justin* speaking of this Action of *Solon* saith, *Deformis habitu more Veterum in publicum evolat. Solon* had not that Hardiness and Courage that *Demosthenes* exerted a long time after on the like Occasion. The *Athenians* after the Death of *Epinondas*, which remov'd out of their Way an Enemy that kept

them always upon their Guard, wasted in Shows and Plays the Money that had been assign'd for the Pay of the Army, and the necessary Occasions of the Publick, and at the same time pass'd a Law which made it capital for any one so much as to mention a Reformation. *Demosthenes* had not Recourse on that Occasion to a feign'd Frenzy, or Indisposition, but spoke to the People with that Liberty and Courage which became an honest Man, who had the Welfare of his Country at Heart.

Y 4

From

*From Salamis, that glorious Isle, I come;
And bring you News, and noble Verses, home.*

That Poem is call'd *Salamis*, it contains a hundred Verses, very elegantly written. Now when he had done singing, and his Friends began to commend it, especially *Pisistratus*, who exhorted the Citizens to obey his Directions; they repealed the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon's* Conduct. The common Report is, that with *Pisistratus* he sail'd to *Colias*; and finding the Women, according to the Custom of the Country there, sacrificing to *Ceres*, he sent a trusty Friend to *Salamis*, who should pretend himself a *Renegade*, and advise them, if they desired to seize the chief *Athenian* Women, to make all sail to *Colias*. The *Megarensians* taking the Story for truth, presently mann'd a Ship; and *Solon* descrying this Ship just as it put off from the Island, commanded the Women to be gone; and ordered some beardless Youth dress'd in these Women's Clothes, their Shoes and Mitres, and privately arm'd with Daggers, to dance and wanton near the Shore, till the Enemies had landed, and the Ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the *Megarensians* were allur'd with the Appearance, and, coming near the Shore strove who should leap out first, as it were only to seize the Women; but were so warmly received, that not one of them escaped; and the *Athenians* presently set sail for the Island, and took it. Others deliver that it was not taken this way; but that *Apollo*, at *Delphi*, first gave him this Oraculous advice:

*Those Heroes that in fair Asopia rest,
All buried with their Faces to the West,
Appease; go offer what shall please them best.*

}
And

And that *Solon* sailing by Night to the Island, sacrific'd to the Heroes (1) *Periphemus* and *CyChris*; and then taking 500 *Athenians* Volunteers, (who had a Law pass'd in their favour, that if they took the Island they should have the Government of it) and setting Sail with a good number of Fishing-Vessels, together with a Galley of thirty Oars, he anchored in a Bay of *Salamis* that looks towards *Eubœa*: and the *Megarensians* that were then in the Island being alarm'd by an uncertain report, in great disorder betook themselves to their Arms, and sent a Ship to discover the Enemies. This Ship coming too near, *Solon* took, and securing the *Megarensians*, mann'd it with the stoutest of the *Athenians*, and gave them orders to sail to the Island with as much privacy as possible; and he with the other Soldiers march'd against the *Megarensians* by Land. Now whilst These were engaged in fight, Those from the Ship took the City. This relation seems to be confirm'd by an old Custom afterwards practis'd; for an *Athenian* Ship used first to sail silently to the Island, then while the People come down with noise and a great shout, out leaps a Man in Armour, and with a strong Cry runs to the Promontory *Sciradium*, to meet those that approach upon the Land; and just by there stands a Temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars*: for he beat the *Megarensians*, and as many as were not kill'd in the Battle he sent away upon Articles. But the *Megarensians* still contending, and both sides having received considerable

(1) *Periphemus* is a Person unknown. *CyChris* was King of *Salamis*, where he had a Temple. *Pausanias* relates that the *Athenians* in an Engagement at Sea with *Xexes* beheld a prodigious

Serpent upon one of their Ships, and were told by the Oracle, whom they consulted on that Occasion, that it was the Hero *CyChris*.

Losses,

Losses, they chose the *Spartans* for Arbitrators. Now Many affirm that *Homer's* Authority did *Solon* a considerable kindness, for that he inserted a Line into the Catalogue of Ships, which he read when the matter was to be determined.

(1) *Ajax from Salamis twelve Ships commands,
And ranks his Men amidst th' Athenian Bands.*

* Ἰνυον.

The *Athenians* account this but an idle Story, and report, that *Solon* made it appear to the Judges, that *Phileus* and *Eurysaces*, the Sons of *Ajax*, being made free of *Athens*, gave up the Island to the *Athenians*; and that One of them dwelt at *Brauron* in *Attica*, the Other at *Melite*; and they have a * Ward of *Philaide*, to which *Pisistratus* belonged, which took its name from *Phileus*. And for a further Argument against the *Megarensians*, he insisted on the manner of burying the dead [at *Salamis*,] that they are not buried after the *Megarensian* fashion, but according to the *Athenian*: for the *Megarensians* turn the face of the Corpse, in burial, to the East, the *Athenians* to the West. But *Hereas* the *Megarensian* denies this, and affirms that they likewise turn the Body to the West. He had besides a stronger Argument than this, which was, (2) that the *Athenians* have a separate Tomb for each Body, but the *Megarensians* put three or four into one. And farther they report, that some of *Apollo's* Oracles, where he calls it *Ionian Sala-*

(1) *Solon* pretended to prove by this spurious Verse, that the *Salaminitians* look'd on the *Athenians* as their Masters; but the Falsity of this Evidence is manifest; for there are many Passages in *Homer* that prove that *Ajax* his Ships took a quite different Station, and were posted near the *Thessalians*.

Vid. the 9th Book of *Strabo*.

(2) The Reason of This was because the *Athenian* Territories were of large Extent, but that Those of *Salamis* and *Megara* being very strait, they were forced to be good Husbands of their Ground, and put three or four Corps in one Sepulcher.

mis,

mis, made much for *Solon*. This matter was determined by five Spartans, *Critolaidēs*, *Amompharettus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilas* and *Cleomenes*. From this business *Solon* grew presently into great Fame and Authority; but That which made him most admired, and got him the most Reputation among the *Greeks*, was what he said in behalf of the Temple at *Delphi*, that All ought to assist, (1) and not suffer the *Cirrhaeans* to abuse the Oracle, but rise up in defence of the *Delphic* God. For upon his persuasion, (2) the *Amphyctions* undertook the War, as, among Others, *Aristotle* affirms in his Treatise of the Victors at the *Pythian* Games, where he makes *Solon* the Author of this Counsel. *Solon* was not General in that Expedition, as *Ermippus* tells us from *Evantheus* the *Samian*: for *Æschines* the Orator says no such thing; and in the Memoirs of the *Delphian* Affairs, *Alcmaeon*, not *Solon*, is recorded as General of the *Athenians*.

(1) The Inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a Town situated on the Bay of *Corinth*, made their Incurfions into the Territories of *Delphi*, conquer'd Part of it, and had laid Siege to the Place itself for the sake of Pillaging the Temple, if the *Amphyctions* had not prevented it, by sending *Clysthenes* Tyrant of *Sigyon*, and *Solon*, to relieve it. These two Captains first besieged *Cirrha*, and having consulted the Oracle upon the Event of the Siege, they receiv'd for Answer, that they shou'd not be able to reduce the Place 'till they had so order'd it that the Waves of the Sea, near *Cirrha*, wash'd the Territories of *Delphi*. Whilst they were at a loss to know what cou'd be the meaning of this Answer, *Solon* declar'd that the Way to fulfill the Oracle was to consecrate to *Apollo* all the Land belonging to

Cirrha, for by that means the Territories of *Delphi* would extend to the Bay, and so the Waves of the Sea wou'd in good earnest wash the Frontiers. This being perform'd the Town was taken, and the Inhabitants punish'd for their Impiety; from that time forward *Cirrha* became the Arsenal of *Delphi*.

(2) They were what We may call the States-General of *Greece*, for the twelve Nations or Clans that dwelt round *Delphi*, sent each their Deputies to assist in this grand Council, which was held twice in the Year at *Thermopyla*, where they had under their Deliberation every thing that concern'd the Tranquility of *Greece*, but more especially such Things as were of a religious Concern. They were the Protectors of the Temple of *Delphi*.

It

It was now that the (1) Guilt of that *Execrable* Proceeding (2) against the Accomplices of *Cylon*, had for a long time given great disturbance to the Common-wealth, even from the time when it first happen'd, which was, when *Megacles*, then chief Magistrate, [or *Archon*,] persuaded these Conspirators with *Cylon*, who had taken Sanctuary in *Minerva's* Temple, to come down and stand a fair Tryal; but when they had tied a twined Thread to the Image of the Goddess, and kept hold of one end of it, [in token of their being still under Sanctuary,] just as they came down by the Temple of the *Furies*, the Thread happening to break of its own accord, *Megacles* and his Collegues in Office fell to seizing of them, as if the Goddess had now refused them her protection. As Many as were without the

(1) Κολώνετον ἄγος. Of this there is a particular account in *Thucydides*, lib. 1. Sect. 126. and something in *Herodotus*, lib. 5. Sect.

(2) *Cylon* was an *Athenian* of a very antient Family, and having marry'd the Daughter of *Theagenes*, Tyrant of *Megara*, seiz'd on the Citadel of *Athens* whilst They were celebrating the *Olympick* Games, which he did upon the Faith of an Oracle of *Apollo*, who had directed him to undertake it during the Celebration of the greatest Feast that was instituted in Honour of *Jupiter*. He thought *Jupiter* had no greater Feast dedicated to him than the Games before mention'd, without considering, that the *Athenians* observ'd a very solemn Feast call'd *Diasia*, which they celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter*; and That possibly might be the Feast, which was meant by the Oracle. However it was, this Ambiguity serv'd to justify the Oracle, for Oracles

can never be in the Wrong. *Cylon* was closely besieg'd in the Citadel, and so reduced thro' Hunger and Thirst, that he was forced to retire with his Brother, leaving his Soldiers to shift for themselves. Some of them perish'd miserably, and the rest flying for Refuge into the Temple of *Minerva*, were used as is here related by *Plutarch*: The Gods incens'd at this sacrilegious Outrage, pour'd down their Calamities upon the Heads of the *Athenians*, who, by way of Atonement, execrated and excommunicated in a publick manner the Authors of it, both Them, and their Descendants, and drove their Families into Exile; and this was the Source of many Disorders for a long time after. This Enterprize of *Cylon* happen'd even in *Solon's* time, towards the 14th Olympiad, 598 Years before the Birth of Christ; for it is certain that *Megacles* was *Archon* the first Year of that Olympiad.

Temples

Temple were stoned, Those that fled to the Altars for Sanctuary were butchered there: and only Those escaped who made their Application to the Officers Wives. But from that time these Officers were called * *Execrables*, [or *Excommunicate Persons*,] and * *ἐναιγέας*. had in great detestation. Such of the *Cylonian* faction as happen'd to out-live this blow, at length grew strong again, and had continual Quarrels with the Relations and Descendants of *Megacles*. The Quarrel being at this time come to its height, and the People divided, *Solon*, who was now come into reputation, taking to his assistance the best Men of *Athens*, interposed himself, and partly by Intreaty, and partly by Admonition, persuaded the *Execrables*, as they were then called, to submit to a Tryal, and be judged by three hundred Persons chosen out of the best Quality, to determine the Case. But one *Myron*, of the *Phlyensian* Ward, managing the Charge against them they were all condemned; and as many as were then alive were banished, and the Carcasses of the dead were dug up, and scattered beyond the Confines of the Country. In the midst of these Distractions, the *Megarensians* falling upon them, the *Athenians* both lost *Nisæa*, and were forced to quit *Salamis*: Besides, the City was disturb'd with superstitious Fears and strange Appearances; and the Priests declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated some execrable Crimes and Pollutions that were to be expiated. Upon this they sent for *Epimenides* the *Phæstian*, from *Crete*, who is counted the seventh Wise Man, by Those that will not admit *Periander* into the number: He was reputed a Holy Man, beloved by the Gods, and one that had great skill in Matters of Religion, as to what concerned Inspirations and the Mysteries of Initiation; and therefore the Men of that Age call'd him (1) the Son of the Nymph *Balte*,

(1) It is not known who this *ertius* writes that *Epimenides* was Nymph *Balte* was. *Diogenes La-* so beloved by the Nymphs that they

The L I F E of

Balte, and the new *Curete*, [or Priest of *Cybele*.] When he came to *Athens*, and grew intimately acquainted with *Solon*, he assisted him privately in many Instances, and made way for the better reception of his Laws: For he made Them decently frugal in their Religious Worship, and more moderate in their Mourning, by ordering some Sacrifices presently after the Funeral; and taking off those severe and barbarous Ceremonies which most of the Women had formerly practis'd. But the greatest thing of all was his cleansing and purifying the City, (1) by certain propitiatory and expiatory Lustrations, and building of Chappels; and by that means making them more pliable to Justice, and more ready to be united. 'Tis reported that looking upon (2) *Munychia*, and considering a-while, he said to those that stood by, *How blind is Man in future things!* (3) *For did the Athenians foresee what Mischief this would do to their City, they wou'd 'em eat it with their own Teeth, to get rid of it.* And

they gave him a certain Drug, which he kept in Bullock's Horns, a single Drop of which preserv'd him a long time healthy and vigorous, without any other Sort of Nourishment.

(1) In these Propitiatory Sacrifices of *Epimenides* one may find some Footsteps of the Expiation of the *Hebrews*, as it is describ'd in the 16th Chapter of *Leviticus*. For it is said that he chose some Sheep that were all white, and Others all black, which he led into the *Areopagus*, and letting them loose from thence, he commanded Those that were to follow them, where-ever they found them couch, to sacrifice them upon the Spot. to the local Deity; which was done accordingly, and in every Place where any of them had

been immolated, an Altar was erected; from whence it came to pass that many Altars were found in the several Burghs of *Attica* without any Name inscrib'd, which were so many authentick Monuments of that Ceremony. He likewise caused many Temples and Chappels to be erected, and among Others, *Contumelia Fanum, & Impudentia*.

(2) A Port belonging to *Athens*, which gave them great Trouble, when in the Hands of their Enemies.

(3) This Prediction was verified the 114th Olympiad, that is near 270 Years after it was erected, at which time *Antipater* constrain'd the *Athenians* to receive a Garrison into the Place.

Some

Some report that *Thales* made the like Conjecture, for he commanded his Friends to bury him in an obscure and neglected Quarter of *Milefia*, saying, that very Spot would in time be the *Forum* of the *Milesians*. *Epimenides* being much admired, and presented by the City with rich Gifts, and considerable Honours, requested but one Branch of the sacred Olive; and that being granted, he return'd.

The *Athenians* now free from the *Cylonian* Sedition, and the *Execrables* banish'd, as was said before, fell immediately into their old Quarrels about the Government, there being as many different Parties as there were different Situations of Country within the Bounds of the Common-wealth; (1) for those upon the Hills were most for Democracy, those in the Champian for Oligarchy; and those that liv'd towards the Sea, stood for a mixt sort of Government, and so hindred either of the other Parties from prevailing. At the same time also the Discord arising from Inequality of Estates between the Poor and the Rich being come to the height, the City was in a most desperate Condition, and 'twas thought that the only thing that could settle it, and free it from these Disturbances, must be a Tyranny, [or absolute Power in the Hands of one Man.] For all the People were indebted to

(1) This Passage is remarkable. giving us to understand that People are inclin'd to This or That Form of Government, according to the different Nature of the Countries they inhabit. They who dwell on the Mountains are for the most part fond of Liberty, and for that reason are inclin'd to a popular Government. Those that dwell in the low Country being, generally speaking, more wealthy, and polite, and consequently more ambitious, are dispos'd to Oligarchy, where they hope it may come to their turn to be of the Number of Those who are to govern; and Those that dwell upon the Coasts partake of the Inclinations of Both, and are for a mixt Government, partly Popular, and partly Aristocratical, where the Many have a Right of voting, but the Power of judging and determining rests in the Few.

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the Rich: and either they tilled their Grounds, paying them the Sixth part of the Produce, and were therefore call'd (1) *Hestemorii* and *Thetes*; (2) or else they engaged their Body for the Debt, and might be seized by their Creditors: so Some of them were made Slaves at home, Others sold to Strangers; Some (for no Law forbad it) were forc'd to sell their Children, or run their Country to avoid the Cruelty of their Creditors; but the most and stoutest of the People rose, and encouraged one another not to suffer things to go thus, but to chuse some one Man in whom they could confide for a Leader, to free * Such as were seized for elapsing the time of Payment, to make a new division of Lands, and entirely to change the Government. Then the wisest of the *Athenians* considering *Solon* as the only Person who had kept himself free from blame, that he had no hand in these unjust Exactions with the Rich, and was not indebted with the Poor; prest him to assist the Common-wealth, and compose the Differences: (3) Tho' *Phanias* the *Lesbian* affirms that *Solon*, to save his Country, put a trick upon both Parties, and privately promised the Poor a Division of the Lands, and the Rich Security for their Debts. But *Solon* himself says he was unwilling to meddle at

* ὁ περὶ μέγας.

(1) i. e. *Sixth Part Men*, and Vassals.

(2) This Custom was in use among the *Romans* for a long time; for by one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables the insolvent Debtor's Person was forfeited to his Creditors, who either detain'd him in Prison, or sold him, as they thought fit. Nay the Law went farther, it allow'd them to tear him in Pieces, and divide his Flesh among them. But no one was ever known to make use of a Right

so barbarous and contrary to Humanity.

(3) He was of *Eressus*, a City of *Lesbos*, Cōtemporary with *Thucydraftus*; and *Aristotle's* Disciple. He is quoted as the Author of several Writings; as, A Treatise on Plants; Another concerning the Death of Tyrants; Another of the Tyrants of the Age; Of the Magistrates of *Edessa*; Of the *Socratic* Philosophers; Of the Dissertations of *Poſidonius*.

first, being afraid of the Avarice of one Party and the Arrogance of the Other; but he was chosen Archon after *Philombrotus*, and impower'd to be an Arbitrator, and settle Laws; the Rich readily consenting because he was wealthy, the Poor because he was honest. 'Tis reported that a Saying of his which went currently about beforehand, that *Equality never breeds War*, mightily pleas'd both Parties, the Wealthy and the Poor; the One expecting this Equality in Dignity and Power, the Other in Riches and Estate. Thus there being great Hopes on both sides, the chief Men prest *Solon* hard, with the offer of absolute Government, endeavouring to persuade him that he might, when he was once settled, manage the business roundly and according to his pleasure: and many of the Citizens * who were indifferent between both Parties, perceiving it would be a difficult change to be effected by Law and Reason, were not against having one wise and just Man set at the head of Affairs. And Some say that *Solon* had this Oracle from *Apollo*:

* τῶν διὰ μέσων.

*Sit in the midst, if you the Ship will guide,
And thousands shall assist to stem the Tide.*

But his Acquaintance especially accused him of Meanness, for scrupling to take the Monarchy only for its Name; (1) as if Tyranny would not by degrees

(1) This is founded upon the Maxim that Dominion naturally belongs to the most Virtuous, who will thereby have it in their Power to render Those that obey them happy. But This will not hold true, unless where the Virtuous are vested with the Power by common Consent. He who usurps it either by Force, or Cunning, however virtuous he

may be in other Respects, will still be a Tyrant; for Tyranny of the longest Duration is Injustice of the longest Continuance, not to be effaced by the most consummate Virtues. It may indeed in a long Succession be changed into a legal Royalty, but the first Tyrant will always be deem'd a Tyrant.

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become a legal Royalty by the Virtue of the Possessor, as it had formerly done among the *Eubæans* who chose (1) *Tyrondas*; and did at present among the *Mitylemians*, who chose (2) *Pittacus* for their Prince. Yet nothing of all this could shake *Solon's* Resolution, but (as they say) he reply'd to his Friends, 'Tis true a Tyranny is a very fair spot, but it hath no way to get out at. And in a Copy of Verse to *Phocæus* he writes:

*That I have spar'd my Country, kept my Fame,
Nor stain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's Name;
But when I could destroy I chose to save,
I blush not; for I think this Action brave,
Beyond most other Mens. —*

From which 'tis manifest that he was a Man of great Reputation before he gave his Laws. But the several Jeers put upon him for refusing Arbitrary Power, he delivers in these words:

*Sure Solon was a shallow thoughtless Wight,
Who could Heaven's fairest Gift so poorly slight.
The Fish were in his Net, he saw them caught,
Yet his mean Soul refus'd to take the Draught:
For else, to have enjoy'd but one day's Reign,
He wou'd have suffer'd the severest Pain:
To have obtain'd such Power in such a Place,
He would have ventur'd cursing all his Race.*

(1) I do not remember to have met with ought of this *Tyrondas* Tyrant of *Eubæa* any where else but in this Place.

(2) *Pittacus*, one of the seven wise Men of *Greece*, made himself Master of *Metylene*; for which Reason *Alcaeus*, who was of the same Town, and Cotemporary with *Pittacus*, wrote against him,

and lash'd him in his Verses, as he did the other Tyrants. *Pittacus* read his Satyrs with Contempt, and after having by his Authority compos'd the Disorders, and quell'd the Seditions of his Citizens, and establish'd Peace and Harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his Power, and restor'd his Country to its Liberty.

Thus

Thus he makes the Many and the Baser sort speak of him in his Poems. Yet tho' he refus'd an Arbitrary Power, he was not too remiss in the management of publick affairs: he did not appear mean and crouching to the Powerful; nor made his Laws to pleasure Those that chose him: for where 'twas well before, he apply'd no remedy, nor altered any thing, for fear lest unsettling, and bringing the Commonwealth into a Confusion, he should be too weak to new-model and compose it to a perfect State: but what he thought he could effect by persuasion upon the Pliable, and by force upon the Stubborn, that he did; (as himself says) *By making Force and Justice both Conspire.* And therefore being afterwards ask'd, if he had left the Athenians the best Laws that could be given: he reply'd, I have established *the best they could receive.* The way which modern Authors say the Athenians used to take off from the harshness of things, by giving them kind and complaisant Names, (so as civilly and gently, for instance, to call a Whore, a *Mistress*; Taxes, *Rates*; Garrisons, *Guards*; Prisons, *Houses of Safety*;) seems at first to have been Solon's Contrivance, who nam'd the taking off the People's Debts a * *Discharge*. For the first thing which he settled in the Commonwealth was, that the Debts in being should be forgiven, and no Man for the future should engage the Body of his Debtor for Security: Tho' Some (and among the rest *Androtion*) affirm, that the poor People were eased, not by cancelling the Debts, but by lowering the Interest, which pleased them so that they gave the Name of *Discharge* to this kindness, and to That which came along with it, the enlarging their Measures, and raising the value of their Money; for he made a *Mina* [or Pound] which before went for but (1) seventy three *Drachmas*, to

(1) Others say *Seventy five*; from hence it appears that Solon did not make the *Mina* bigger, but the *Drachma* less by a quarter.

go for a hundred, so that paying as much in Tale as before, but less in Weight, Those that paid off a Debt had great advantage, and Those that received it had no loss. But most Authors say that this *Discharge* [or *Seisacthia*] was an entire voidance of all Debts at once, and with this account what he says in his Poems best agrees: for in them *Solon* values himself that he had removed all (1) Marks of *Mortgaged Land*, fixt up almost in every place before, so that what was bound before, was now free; and of such Citizens as had been seized into the Creditors Hands for their Debts, Some he had brought back from other Countries, where by the length of their Exile they had forgotten their Mother Tongue; and Some he had set at liberty, who were in cruel Slavery at home. 'Tis said that upon doing This there happen'd an unlucky Affair, which gave him great uneasiness; for when he had resolv'd to take off the Debts, and was contriving suitable Speeches, and a proper way of beginning the business, he told some of his Friends, *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, in Whom he had the greatest confidence, and often advised with, that he would not meddle with the Lands, but only free the People from their Debts. But they immediately taking the advantage, beforehand borrowed vast Sums of Money from rich Men, and purchased some large Farms; and when the Law was enacted, they kept the Possessions, but would not return the Money to their Creditors; which brought *Solon* under great censure and reproach, as if he himself had not been abus'd by them, but concerned with them in this act of Injustice. But this Calumny was presently confuted with five Talents, for he was known to have lent so many, and these he remitted in the first place according to the Law. Some (and among the rest *Polyzelus* of *Rhodes*) say it was fifteen Talents. But

(1) *Opse*, which were, as *Harpocration* tells us, certain Bills fixt up upon any House or Land that was *Mortgaged*,

however

however they call'd his Friends *Chreocopidæ* [*i. e.* *Debt-sinkers*] ever after.

In making this Law he pleased neither Party, for he disobligh'd the Rich in cancelling their Bonds, and the Poor still more in not making a Division of Land as they expected, nor making all level and equal in Estate, as *Lycurgus* had done. But then [it must be considered that] *Lycurgus* being the eleventh from *Hercules*, and having reign'd many Years in *Lacedæmon*, had gotten a great Reputation, Power and Friends, which he could use in modelling his State; and applying Force more than Persuasion, insomuch that he lost his Eye in the scuffle, brought about the most effectual means to preserve and unite a State, by not permitting any to be poor or rich in his Commonwealth. But *Solon* could not rise to that in his way of Politicks, being only (1) a Commoner, and of a moderate Estate; yet he acted to the height of his Power, having nothing but his own good Advice, and the good Opinion of his Citizens to rely on. And that he offended the generality, who look'd for another posture of Affairs, he declares in these Words:

*Once all extoll'd Me much; now angry grown
As on their Foe they look with spiteful Frown.*

And yet he says that if any other Man had had the same power, *he could not have restrained the Rabble, or kept them so quiet, (2) without bringing all*

(1) Δημοτικός. *Plutarch* in the Beginning of this Life saith, *Solon* was of one of the best Families in *Athens*, being descended from *Codrus*. How comes it about that in this Place he calls him a Commoner? He must mean that *Solon's* Family by degrees fell into Decay, and that their Fortune being unable to support their Nobility, they sunk into a State of Mediocrity.

(2) Πρὶν ἂν παράξας πῖαρ ἐξέλη γάλα. *i. e.* till he had Churned them so as to take out all the Butter.

The LIFE of

into such Confusion as to leave none rich among them. But in a little time being sensible of their own advantage, they laid by their Grudge, made a publick Sacrifice, calling it *Seisachthia*, and made *Solon* Superintendant of the Laws, and every thing else relating to the Common-wealth: They gave him Power not in some particulars only, but in every thing, over all their Magistracies, their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint what Estate each Man must have to qualify him for any of These, what should be the Number and Time of meeting, that he should dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions according to his Pleasure. (1) First then he repeal'd all *Draco's* Laws, except Those concerning Murder, because they were too severe, and their Punishments too great; for Death was appointed for almost all Offences, insomuch that Those that were convicted of Idleness were to dye; and Those that stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, were liable to the same Punishment with the Villains that committed Sacrilege or Murder. And therefore *Demades* is famous for saying that *Draco's* Laws were *not writ with Ink but Blood*: And he himself being once ask'd, Why he made Death the Punishment of most Offences? reply'd, *Small ones deserve That, and I have no higher for the greater Crimes*. In the next place *Solon* being willing to continue all Offices of Magistracy in the hands of the rich Men, as they had been, and yet to bring a mixture of the People into other parts of the Government of which they had no share before, he took an account of the Citizens Estates, and

(2) *Draco* was the first among the *Greeks* that punish'd Adultery with Death; and that he might imprint in the People a Horror for Murder, he ordain'd that Prosecution should be carry'd on even against inanimate things if

they had accidentally caused the Death of any one. For Instance, a Statue that had unfortunately fallen on a Person was banish'd, it being made Criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica*.

Those

Those that were worth five hundred (1) *Measures* both in Wet and Dry he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them *Pentacosimedimnoi*; those of the second Class, which were such as could keep a Horse, or were worth three hundred Measures, were nam'd (2) *Hippadatelountes*; The third Class consisted of such as were worth but two hundred Measures, and they were called (3) *Zeugitæ*; and all the Others were call'd *Thetes*, [i. e. *Vassals* or *Labourers* for hire] who were not admitted to any Office, but could come to the * *great Assembly*, and give their * *ἐκκλησιᾶ* *Voices*: which at first seem'd nothing, but afterwards appear'd a considerable privilege; for most of the Controversies came at last to these popular Judges; because in all Matters which he put under the Cognizance of the Magistrates, he gave such as pleased liberty to appeal to the (4) popular Court. Besides, 'tis said that he was obscure and ambiguous in the wording of his Laws, on purpose to encrease the Power of these popular Courts; for since their differences could not be adjusted by the Letter of the Law they stood in continual need of Judges, and brought all Controversies before them, who by this means were in a manner (5) superiour to the Laws. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner:

(1) Μέτρα, that is *Medimni*; each *Medimnus* containing near twelve Gallons of our Wine Measure.

(2) i. e. bound to find an Horse.

(3) I am of Opinion they were so called because they were in the middle Rank between the *Hippadatelountes*, or the Knights, and the *Thetes*, or *Vassals*. So in their

Gallies the Rowers in the middle Bank were called *Zeugitæ*, being between the *Thalamites*, and *Thranites*.

(4) Δικαστήριον, which consisted of the whole People.

(5) This Some blamed in *Solon*, as setting the People above the Law, as *Aristotle* tells, *Polit. lib. 2. cap. 10.*

The LIFE of

*What Power was fit I did on All bestow,
Not rais'd the Poor too high, nor prest too low:
The Rich that rul'd, and ev'ry Office bore,
Confin'd by Laws, they could not prest the Poor;
Both Parties I secur'd from lawless Might,
So none prevail'd upon another's Right.*

And for the greater security of the weak Commons, he gave any Man liberty to enter an Action against Another for an Injury; so that if any one was beaten, maim'd, or suffer'd violence from Another, any One that was willing and able might prosecute the Injurious: very wisely intending by This to accustom the Citizens, like Members of the same Body, to resent and be sensible of one another's Injuries. And there is a Saying of his agreeable to this Law; for being ask'd what City was best model'd? *That*, says he, *where Those that are not injur'd are no less ready to prosecute and punish the Offenders than Those that are.* He constituted the Court [or Senate] of the (1) *Areopagus*, which was com-

(1) This was a Hill near the Citadel of *Athens*, on which was a Piece of Ground inclosed, but uncover'd, where the Judges met to hear and judge in all Criminal Causes, and had all Matters of Importance, whether of a Religious, or civil Nature, brought before them. There were in this Court two Silver Seats, or Stools, One of which was called *the Stool of Impudence*, and the Other of *Injury*. The Accuser sat on the Last, and the Accused on the First. This Court was not primarily erected by *Solon*, it was a Tribunal a thousand Years before him, even in the Days of *Cecrops*, who call'd it *Areopagus*, or *Mars his Hill*, because *Mars* had been condemn'd here for the Murder of *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune*. Before *Solon's* time the Men of the best Reputation in the whole City were Judges in this Court. *Solon* was the First who thought it expedient that for the future only such as had discharged the Office of Archon shou'd be advanced to that Dignity; and as that Regulation added very much to the Authority of the Court, he was ever after consider'd as the Founder. There was nothing more noble nor august than that Senate, nothing equal to the Glory of the Senators, they were honour'd as Gods.

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posed of such as had been yearly Magistrates, of which he himself, having been Archon, was consequently a Member. But still observing that the People, now free from their Debts, grew Proud and Imperious; he settled another Court of Four hundred, a hundred out of each of the (1) four Tribes, which were to inspect all Matters before they were to be propounded to the People; and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general Assembly. The upper Council he made Inspectors and Keepers of the Laws; supposing that the Commonwealth, held by these two Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be tost by Tumults, and the People more at quiet. Thus most deliver that *Solon* instituted the *Areopagus* (as we said before) which seems to be confirmed, because *Draco* makes no mention of the *Areopagites*, but in all Capital Causes applies himself to the *Ephetae*. Yet *Solon's* thirteenth Table has a Law (which is the eighth) set down in these very Words: "Whoever before *Solon's* Archonship were disgrac'd let them be restor'd, except those that being condemn'd by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetae*, in the Court of the *Prytanes* by the (2) Kings, for Murder, or Homicide, or Affectation of Tyranny, had fled their Country when this Law was made." And these Words seem to shew that the *Areopagus* was before *Solon's* Laws; for who could be condemn'd in the *Areopagus* before his time, if he was the first that gave this Court the Power of Judging? (3) Unless, which is probable,

(1) These Tribes, which were but four in *Solon's* time, were afterwards made ten by *Clisthenes*, and then the Court was 500, that is, 50 out of each Tribe.

had the Name of King, as also he had the Chief Charge of the Religious Solemnities.

(2) Notwithstanding what *Plutarch* says, it is certain (as has been already observed) that the Court of

(2) The Chief of the *Archons*

bable, there is some defect and obscurity in this Table, and it should run thus ; Those that have been convicted of such Offences as now belong to the cognizance of the *Areopagites*, *Epheta*, or the *Prytanes*, since the making of this Law, shall remain still in disgrace, whilst others are restor'd : And doubtless This was his meaning. Amongst his other Laws, that is very peculiar and surprising, which makes all those (1) infamous who stand Neuters in a Sedition : But it seems, he would not have any one insensible and regardless of the Publick, and, securing his private Affairs, glory that he had no feeling of the distempers of his Country ; but immediately joining with the good Party, and Those that had the right on their side, assist, and venture with them, rather than shift out of harms way, and watch who would get the better. But that seems an absurd and ridiculous Law, (2) which permits an Orphan-heiress, if He that

of *Areopagus* was long before *Solon's* time, for the old Poets make *Orestes* to have been tried by it for the Murder of his Mother. See *Æschylus* in *Eumenid*.

(1) They were likewise condemn'd to perpetual Banishment, and their Effects were confiscated.

(2) There was a Law that ordain'd that female Orphans that had a mind to marry shou'd be marry'd to the next a-kin. *Orba, qui sunt genere proximi, iis nubunt*. The next Relation was without doubt ready enough, if the Orphan was rich; if poor, the Law obliged him either to marry her, or pay a Fine; and upon this Law turns a considerable point in *Terence's Phormio*. *Lex est ut Orba, qui sunt generi proximi, iis nubant*. *Moses* gave the same Law to God's own People. *Deut. xxv. 5*.

Ruth, chap. ii. *Solon* to prevent the Impotent from marrying, and thereby imposing upon Nature, perverted this Law, which was design'd only for Orphan-heiresses that were not yet marry'd, and mark'd out to 'em the Persons that were to be their Husbands; but *Solon* extended it even to Those that were married, and in the Power of their Husbands; than which nothing cou'd be more unbecoming; for which reason *Plutarch* very justly calls it a ridiculous Law. It is prudent indeed to prevent, or correct, the Disorders of such unfruitful Marriages; but not to correct them by another Disorder of a worse Consequence and Tendency, that is by authorising Corruption, and Debauchery.

claims and holds her as his own by Sentence of Law, prove impotent, then to match with his nearest Kinsman: Yet some say, this Law was well contriv'd against Those, who, conscious of their own inability, yet, for the sake of the Portion, would match with Heiresses, and make use of Law to put a violence upon Nature; for now, when they see the Heiress can chuse her Consort, they must either abstain from such Marriages, or continue them with disgrace, and suffer for their Covetousness and design'd Affront: Besides, 'tis well done not to allow such Women in those cases [of Inability] to chuse for themselves, but to confine them to their Husband's nearest Relations, that the Children may be of the same Family. And agreeable to This is the Law, that the Bride and Bridegroom shall be shut into a Chamber, (1) and eat of the same Quince together; and that her Husband is oblig'd to go in to such Heiress thrice a Month: for tho' he gets no Children, yet 'tis an honour and due affection which an Husband ought to pay to a virtuous chaste Wife; it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

In all other Marriages he forbid Dowries to be given, the Wife was to bring with her three suits of Clothes, a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and that was all: For he would not have Marriage to be a matter of gain or traffick, but to be a sociable State

(1) It looks as if *Plutarch* meant here that *Solon* had ordain'd this Ceremony only for rich Heiresses, who had been marry'd to impotent Husbands; but the same Ordonnance was observ'd in all Marriages: the Legislator thereby giving to understand not only that the marry'd Couple were to abstain from giving each

other hard Words, for it is the Quality of the Quince to sweeten the Breath, but also that they shou'd be watchful, and intent upon their mutual Safety and Preservation, it being likewise the Property of the Quince to deaden the Malignity of Poison, and render it ineffectual.

of Man and Wife for Procreation, and for mutual Endearment and Love. *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Sicily*, when his Mother desired him to marry her to a young *Syracusan*, reply'd, *I have indeed overturn'd the Laws of my Country by my Tyranny, but cannot put a violence upon those of Nature by a Marriage so disproportion'd with respect to the Age of the Parties.* Such disorder is never to be suffer'd in a Commonwealth, nor such unseasonable and ungrateful Matches, which neither answer the purpose nor end of Marriage. But any provident Governor or Law-giver might say to an old Man that takes a young Wife, what is spoken to *Philoctetes* in the Tragedy; *Poor Wretch, in what a fit condition art thou to be married!* and if he finds a young Man with a rich old Woman, like a Partridge growing fat upon the duty, remove him to a Virgin that needs a Husband; and of this enough.

Another commendable Law of *Solon's*, is That which forbids Men to speak evil of the Dead; for 'tis pious to think deceased Persons sacred, and just not to meddle with Those that are gone, and politick to prevent the perpetuity of discord. He likewise forbad them to speak evil of the Living in the Temple, before the Tribunal, in the Court, or at the publick Games; or else to pay three Drachmas to the injur'd Person, and two to the publick: for never to be able to rule Passion, shews a weak Nature, and ill Breeding; and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to Some impossible. Now the matter of Laws must be possible, if the Maker designs to punish a Few in order to their amendment, and not Many to no purpose.

He is likewise much commended for his Law concerning Wills; for before that time no Man was allowed to make a Will; but all the Wealth and Estate of the deceased was to continue among the Relations. But he permitted them, if they had

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no Children, to bestow it on whom they pleased; esteeming Friendship a stronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity; and thus made every man's Estate in the disposal of the Possessor: yet he allow'd not all sorts of Legacies, but those only which were not extorted by the phrenzy of a Disease, Charms, Imprisonment, Force, or the persuasions of his Wife; with good reason thinking there was no great difference whether a Man be persuaded or forced to do what is not fit: but putting the inducement of deceit and necessity, of pleasure and pain upon the same foot, since both are equally powerful to move a Man from the use of his Reason.

He also made a Law for the Conduct of the Women in their Journies, Mournings, and Sacrifices, preventing thereby the Excess, Disorder and Licentiousness that had prevail'd before. When they went out of Town they were suffer'd to take no more with them than three Habits, the Expence of their Provisions was confin'd to the Value of an *Obolus* (1), their Pannier or Basket was not to be above a Cubit high; and at Night they were not to stir but in a Chariot, with a Torch before them. (2) They were forbid to scratch or deface themselves at Funerals, or do any thing else to force Tears and Lamentations from those that follow'd the Corps, and were no ways related to the Deceas'd. To offer an Ox at the Grave was not permitted; nor to bury (3) above three Gar-

(1) Something more than a Penny of our Money, *Obolus* being the sixth part of a *Drachma*.

(2) The Romans borrow'd this Law from *Solon*. It is still to be found in the Twelve Tables. *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento. Let not the Women*

scratch their Cheeks, nor make Lamentations at Enterments.

(3) We find this Law likewise in the Twelve Tables. *Sumptum minuito; tria si volet ricinia adhibeto, est vincula purpura. Let the Expences be lessen'd; let no more be thrown upon the Corps than three Robes edged with Purple.*

ments with the Body, (1) or visit the Tombs of any besides their own Family, unless at the very Funeral: most of which are likewise forbidden by our Laws; but this is farther added in Ours, that Those that are convicted of extravagance in their Mournings, are to be punished as soft and effeminate, by the Censors of the Women.

He observing the City was fill'd with Persons that flock'd from all parts into *Attica* for security of living, and that most of the Country was barren and unfruitful; and that the Traders at Sea imported nothing to Those that could give them nothing in exchange: he persuaded the Citizens to apply themselves to Mechanicks and Manufactures; and made a Law that no Son should be obliged to relieve his Father, who had not bred him up to some Trade. 'Tis true, *Lycurgus* having a City free from all Strangers, and Land enough for a great many People, or (according to *Euripides*) *sufficient for twice so many*; and abundance of *Helotes* about *Sparta*, who should not be kept idle, but be broken with continual toil and work; he did well to take off his Citizens from Trades laborious and mechanical, and keep them to their Arms, so as to be well skilled and practised only in the Art of War. But *Solon*, fitting his Laws according to the state of Things, and not ordering Things according to his Laws; and finding the Ground scarce rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy Multitude, brought Trades into Credit, and ordered the *Areopagites* to examine how every Man got his Living, and cha-

(1) Relations might go, and visit them as often as they pleased, and This was look'd upon as a Pious Action. But no Others were suffer'd to go thither after the Funeral was over, because such Visits were suspicious, as if design'd to violate the Sanctity of the Place, and convey away the Bones, which they made use of in their Sorceries.

stife the Idle. But that Law was more rigid, which (as *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers) declar'd the Sons of Harlots not oblig'd to relieve their Fathers; for he that will not marry, doth not take a Woman for Children, but for Pleasure, and thus hath his just reward, having no pretence to upbraid his Children, to whom he hath made their very Birth a scandal and reproach. But in short, many of *Solon's* Laws about Women seem to be absurd: for (1) he permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that was caught in the Fact; if any one forc'd a free Woman, a hundred Drachmas was the Fine; if he *acted as a Procurer, twenty; except Those that * *πρὸς γυναικί* traded for a price, I mean common Prostitutes; for they go openly to Those that hire them. He made it unlawful to sell a Daughter, or a Sister, unless, being yet unmarried, she was found wanton with a Man. Now 'tis irrational to punish the same Crime sometimes very severely and without remorse, and sometimes very lightly and as 'twere in sport, with a trivial Fine; unless there being little Money then in *Athens*, that scarcity made those Mulcts the more grievous punishment. And indeed in the valuation of things to be sacrificed he reckons a Sheep and a *Drachma* at the same Price as a (2) *Medimnus* of Corn. (3) The Victor in

(1) *Draco*, as has been already said, condemn'd Adulterers to Death, as did the Law of the *Hebrews*; but *Solon* wou'd not suffer the injur'd Person to be subject to the Formalities of Justice, but suffer'd him to kill the Offender, if caught in the Fact.

(2) About six Pecks of our Measure.

(3) We learn from *Diogenes Laertius*, that *Solon* lessen'd the Rewards confer'd on the Conque-

rors in those Games, which before his time had been very considerable. He thought it a shameful thing to give *Athletes* or Wrestlers more bountifal Rewards than were reserv'd for Those who died in the Wars fighting for their Country, whose Children ought rather to be educated at the publick Expence, that they might one day be encouraged to follow their Fathers Example. Whereas those *Athletes* were no better

in the *Isthmian Games* was to have for reward a hundred Drachmas : The Conqueror in the *Olympian*, five hundred : He that caught a Dog Wolf, five Drachmas ; he that kill'd a Bitch Wolf, One : the former Sum (as *Demetrius Phalereus* asserts) was the value of an Ox, the latter of a Sheep : for those prices which in his sixteenth Table he sets on the choice Sacrifices were probably far greater, and yet even These are very little in comparison of the present. The *Athenians*, because their Fields were better for Pasture than Corn, were from the beginning great Enemies to Wolves, (1) and Some affirm their Tribes did not take their names from the Sons of *Ion*, but from the different sorts of Occupation that they followed ; the Soldiers were call'd *Hoplites* ; the Craftsmen, *Ergates* ; and of the remaining two, such as tilled the Ground were called (2) *Teleontes*, and the Shepherds and Graziers, *Aigicores*. And forasmuch as *Attica* was a dry parch'd Soil, without (3) Rivers, or Lakes,

better than Spendthrifts, and whose Victories were often more mischievous than useful to their Country. At first the Rewards of the Victors were only some Branches of Olive for Those who had obtain'd the Victory in the *Olympick*, and of Palm for such as had conquer'd in the *Isthmian Games*. *Eurylochus* was the first who made an Innovation in that noble Custom, and appointed a Reward in Money.

(1) *Strabo* is of this Sentiment, contrary to the Opinion of *Herodotus* and *Euripides*, who say that *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus* had four Sons, *Teleon*, *Aigicores*, *Ergates*, and *Oplites*, from whom the four first Tribes had their Names

respectively.

(2) *Τηλέουρες* Farmers, from *τελέω*, which signifies to give or furnish.

(3) It is in the Original, *Rivers that are running constantly* ; by which it is to be understood that the *Ilissus*, and *Eridanus*, two Rivers in *Attica*, were frequently dry : *Callimachus* in his Catalogue of the Rivers of *Europe* saith, he shou'd not forbear laughing till his sides crack'd, if any whimsical Poet shou'd be fool enough to say that the Daughters of the *Athenians* drew fresh Water out of the River *Eridanus*, when the Beasts themselves cou'd not quench their Thirst in it.

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(1) where few Fountains were to be found, and where for the most part they had no other Water but what they drew out of Wells, which they had dug for that purpose, there was a Law made, that where there was a publick Well within a *Hippicon* (that is four Furlongs) All should draw at That; but when it was farther off they might provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten fathom deep in their own Ground, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch a (2) Vessel of six Gallons twice a-day from their Neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Provision against Want, but not to encourage Laziness. Besides, he shew'd his skill in the Orders about Planting: for any one that would plant another Tree, was not to set it within five foot of his Neighbour's Field; and if a Fig or an Olive, not within nine: for their Roots spread farther, nor can they be planted near all sorts of Trees without damage, for they draw away the nourishment, and hurt Some by their venomous effluvioms. He that would dig a Pit or a (3) Ditch, was to dig it as far distant from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep: And He that would raise stocks of Bees, was to raise them at three hundred feet distance from Those which Another had already rais'd. (4) He permitted only Oil to be exported; and Those that did

(1) *Strabo* tells us there was a Spring of fresh Water near the *Lycaum*, which afforded a supply of extraordinary good Water. But in general *Attica* was a very dry Soil; for which Reason the Inhabitants in their daily Prayers besought *Jupiter* to pour down Rain upon the Lands and Fields the Athenians.

(2) *Ἑξάχων ὀσπρίαν*, i. e. six Choers or Congii, each of which was near our Wine Gallon.

(3) *Τάφους*, so the printed Copies have it, i. e. ditches; but this Law is still preserved in the *Roman Pandect*. lib. 10. Tit. 1. leg. 13. and there it is *τάφον* a grave, and not *τάφου*.

(4) There was great abundance of Oyl in *Attica*, and but a little of other Fruits in Proportion. So those Fruits were necessary for the Nourishment of the People, and cou'd in some measure supply the Want of Grain.

export any other Fruit, the Archon was solemnly to curse, or else himself to pay a hundred Drachmas: And this Law was written in his first Table; and therefore let none think Those Liars that affirm, the exportation of Figs was heretofore forbidde, and the Informer against the Delinquents call'd a *Sycophant*. Besides, he made a Law concerning hurts and injuries from Beasts, in which he commands the Master of any Dog that bit a Man to deliver him up chained to a Yoke of four Cubits; and this was a pleasant device for Mens security. The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers admits of some doubt, for he permitted only Those to be made free of *Athens*, who were in perpetual Exile from their own Country, or came with their whole Family to exercise some Trade There; and this he did (as Some say) not to discourage Strangers, but rather invite them, by making them secure of the Privileges of the Government: And besides, because he thought Both these would prove the more faithful Citizens, the One out of necessity, because they had been forc'd from their own Country, the Other out of choice, because they had voluntarily forsook it.

But the Law for entertaining in publick was peculiar to *Solon*, (1) which he himself called παρασιτεῖν [*i. e.* eating in publick, or at the publick Charge] for he allowed not the same Person to be entertain'd often, and if He whose turn it was re-

(1) In the first Ages the Name of *Parasite* was venerable, and holy, for it properly signified one that was a *Commoner* or *Mess-Mate* at the Table of Sacrifices. There were in *Greece* several Persons particularly honour'd with this Title, and were much like Those which the *Romans* call'd *Epulones*. *Solon* ordain'd that every Tribe shou'd offer a Sacrifice once

a Month, and at the end of the Sacrifice make a publick Entertainment, at which all that were of that Tribe shou'd be obliged to assist by Turns. They who were named to that Office, when it came to be their Turn, and did not attend accordingly, were return'd to the Council, and obliged to give an Account of their Conduct.

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refused to come he punished him, as concluding the one Case to be an instance of Greediness, the Other a contempt of the Publick. All his Laws he established for an hundred Years, and writ them in Wooden Tables nam'd *Axones*, which might be turn'd round in oblong Cases; some small reliicks of them are preserved even to our time in the Common-hall at *Athens*. These (as *Aristotle* affirms) were called *Cyrbes*; and *Cratinus* the Comic Poet somewhere says,

*Of Solon and of Draco small account is made,
Their very Cyrbes now are used for parching Corn.*

But Some say those are properly (1) *Cyrbes*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices and the Rites of Religion, and all the Other *Axones*. The Senate all jointly swore to confirm the Laws, and every one of the (2) *Thesmothetæ* made a peculiar Vow at the Stone in the Market-place, that if he brake any of the Statues, he would dedicate (3) a Golden Statue as big as himself, at *Delphi*.

(1) The *Cyrbes*, according to Some, were triangular, and made of Stone, and the *Axones* quadrangular; and though they are here said to have been of Wood, yet others say they were Stone Pillars at first, and afterwards Wood whiten'd. But in time *Cyrbes* and *Axones* were general Names for all publick Monuments of this kind. See *Harpocration* and *Suidas*, and the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, lib. 4. v. 288.

(2) It has been observ'd before that they were six in Number, and had particular Charge of the Laws, from whence they were call'd *Thesmothetæ*: their Business was to explain the Sense, and re-

concile the seeming Contrarieties of the Law; to inquire into such as had been neglected, and restore them to their primitive Vigour; and to see if there were not many upon the same Subject. They were the Judges of all Criminals, and had the power of Life and Death.

(3) There was not a Citizen of them all wealthy enough to make such a Statue of Massy Gold, but it was an excessive hyperbolic Vow containing tacitly a sort of Curse, for whoever shou'd incur the Penalty and was not able to perform the Vow was to be banish'd, and have his Goods confiscated.

Now observing the Irregularity of the Months, and that the Moon did not always rise and set with the Sun, but often upon the same Day happen'd to overtake and go before him; he ordered that day to be nam'd ἐν ἡ ἡ νῆα, *the Old and New*; attributing that part of it which was before the Conjunction to the Old Moon, and the rest to the New: being the first it seems that understood that Verse of *Homer*,

Τῷ μὲν φθίνοντι μῶνος, ἔ δ' ἰσαμένοιο.

(1) *Of the decreasing and increasing Month.*

The following Day he call'd the *New Moon*; (2) after the twentieth he counted not by adding, but

(1) This Line is the 162d Verse of the 14th Book of the *Odyssey*, where *Ulysses* himself speaking of his Return saith, *Be assured of the Truth of what I say. Ulysses shall return hither this very Year. Yes, he shall return into his own Palace at the End, and Beginning of the Month.* Solon knew very well that *Homer* cou'd not speak but of One, and the Same day; for how cou'd a Man come home two days together? Hetherefore found that the Poet in this manner explain'd the day of the Conjunction, wherein the Moon is at the same time both old and new, closing up one Month, and opening That which follows.

(2) He divided the Month into three Tens or Tithings. The first was called *of the Month beginning* ἰσαμένος μηνός; the second *the Month middling*, μεσσηνίας μηνός; and the last *of the Month finishing*, φθίνοντος μηνός: the first was number'd in order, viz. *The First, Second, Third of the Month beginning.* The second was number'd in the same manner, *the First, Se-*

cond, Third of the Month middling, or else the First after Ten, the Second after Ten, &c. till they came to Twenty. When they came to the last Ten then they reckon'd by subtraction, for instead of saying *One after Twenty, Two after Twenty*, they call it *the Tenth of the Month finishing*, that is the 21st; *the Ninth of the Month finishing*, that is the 22d; and so of the rest. Sometimes they left out the Words *of the Month finishing*, when they counted several days one after another, for in that Case it was impossible to be mistaken. Thus *Strepsiades* in one of *Aristophanes* his Plays call'd the *Clouds*, instead of reckoning *Six after Twenty, Seven after Twenty, &c.* saith, *Five, Four, Three, Two,* and the most abominable of all days *That of the old, and new Moon*, that is the 30th. The Romans imitated them in this last way of subtracting, and it is astonishing to conceive how so thinking and polite a People cou'd follow Dates so unnatural, or rather so extravagant.

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substracting and reckoned backward, according to the decreasing Phases of the Moon, to the thirtieth.

Now (1) when these Laws were enacted, and Some came to *Solon* every day, either to commend or dispraise them, and advise, if possible, to leave out, or put in something; and Many were curious, and desir'd him to explain, and tell the meaning of such and such a Passage; and he knowing that not to do it was disobliging, and to do it would get him Ill-will; and desirous to bring himself out of all Straits, and take off all reasons of Suspicion from Those that sought them (for as he himself says, *In great Affairs 'tis hard to please all,*) as a reason for travelling, he pretended himself Master of a Ship, and having obtain'd leave for ten Years absence, he departed; for he hop'd by that time his Laws would become customary and familiar. His first Voyage was for *Ægypt*, and he liv'd (as he himself says)

(1) *Plutarch* has only mention'd those Laws of *Solon* which he thought the most singular and remarkable; *Diogenes Laertius* has related some Others, that ought not to be forgotten, viz. Let not the Tutor live in the same House with the Mother of his Pupils. Let not the Tuition of Minors be committed to Him who is next after them in the Inheritance. Let Him that puts out the Eye of a Man that has but One, lose Both, His. If an Archon gets drunk let him be put to Death. Let Him, who refuseth to nourish his Father and Mother be infamous: And so let Him that has consum'd his Patrimony. A Debauché shall not be allow'd to speak in the Assemblies of the People. There are two other Laws of *Solon* very remarkable, of which *Plutarch* has taken

no Notice: One of them is against lewd Women, and the Other against Procurers. *A Woman caught in Adultery shall not be suffer'd to deck herself, and assist at the publick Sacrifices, for fear her Commerce shou'd corrupt Others. In case she shou'd appear there, or be deck'd out it shall be lawful for the first that sees her to strip her, and take her Ornaments; He may likewise beat her as much as he pleases, provided he does not kill nor lame her.* The Design of the Legislator in this Law was to cover with Infamy the unhappy Prostitute, and make her Life insupportable.

As for such as procured those sort of Women, *Lenones*, *πρωτογοῖ*, he ordain'd that they shou'd be pursued, and put to Death if taken.

The LIFE of

Near Nilus' Mouth, by fair Canopus' Shore.

He spent some time in Study with *Psenophis* of *Helio-*
polis and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the most learned of all the
Priests; from whom (as *Plato* says) getting an Ac-
count of the *Atlantick* Island, (1) he put it into a
Poem, and endeavour'd to bring it into Credit a-
mong the *Grecians*. From thence he sail'd to *Cyprus*,
where he was made much of by *Philocyprus* one of
the Kings there, who had a small City built by
Demophoon, the Son of *Theseus*, near the River
Clarius, in a strong Place, 'tis true, but barren and
uneasy of Access. *Solon* persuaded him, since there
lay a fair Plain below, to remove the City, and
build it more pleasant and larger; and while he staid
there he took care of its building and peopling,
and assisted in fitting it both for Defence and Con-
venience of living: insomuch that many new In-
habitants flock'd to *Philocyprus*, and the other
Kings grew jealous; and therefore to honour *So-*
lon, he call'd the City *Solos*, which was formerly
nam'd *Apeia*, that is High: and *Solon* himself in his
Elegies speaking to *Philocyprus*, mentions this
Foundation in these Words;

Long may you live, and fill the Solian Throne,
Succeeded still by Children of your own !
And whilst from your bless'd Isle I gently sail,
Let Venus send a kind and prosp'rous Gale :
Let her enlarge the Bounds of your Command,
And raise your Town, and send me safe to Land.

(1) *Plato* finish'd this History
from *Solon's* Memoirs, as is to be
seen in his *Timeus*, and *Critias*.
He pretends that this *Atlantick*
Island, situated in the Ocean, was
bigger than *Asia* and *Africk*, and
that it was drown'd in one Day
and Night. *Diodorus Siculus* saith,

that the *Carthaginians*, who dis-
cover'd it, made it capital for
any one to inhabit it. It has been
infer'd from hence that in those
days the *Africans* had some Know-
ledge of *America*, upon which
the *Greeks* build the Fable, which
Plato has preserv'd in his *Critias*.

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There are Some who think the Story of
 (1) *Solon's* Interview with *Cræsus* a fiction, as not agreeable with Chronology; but I cannot reject so famous a Relation, and so well attested, and (what is more) so agreeable to *Solon's* Temper, so worthy his Wisdom and Greatness of Mind, because forsooth it doth not agree with some Chronological Canons, which Thousands have endeavour'd to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Accounts to any agreement. The Story is
 (2) that *Solon* coming to *Sardis* at the request of *Cræsus*, was in the same Condition, as an inland Man when first he goes to see the Sea: for as he fancies every River he meets with to be the Ocean, so *Solon*, as he pass'd through the Court, and saw a great many Nobles richly dress'd, and proudly strutting among a Crowd of Attendants and Guards, thought every one had been *Cræsus*, till at last he was brought to his presence, and found him deck'd with all the Ornaments of Jewels, Purple and Embroidery, All that could make him fine and admired, (3) that he might appear the most glorious

(1) *Solon*, They say, was Archon the third Year of the 46th Olympiad, and *Cræsus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the second Year of the 58th, which makes it impossible for *Solon* to be living at that time, that is to say 47 Years after his Archonship. This they prove stronger by making it appear that *Solon* died when *Hegestratus* was Archon in the second Year of the 51st Olympiad. Now *Cræsus* was not King 'till the first Year of the 56th Olympiad, which was 22 Years after the Death of *Solon*. How then are we to make this Voyage of *Solon* into *Lydia* fall in with the Reign of *Cræsus*? Especially if, according to *Plutarch*, this Voyage was

perform'd even before the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*. This is so full of Difficulties, and Contraries, that it is impossible to reconcile them, unless We agree with *Plutarch* that the antient Chronological Tables are by no means exact, notwithstanding the great Labour and Pains several Persons have been at to regulate them.

(2) This Story is told at large in the first Book of *Herodotus*.

(1) It was a Custom among the Eastern Princes to have their Vestments variegated with divers Colours, as we find it in the Holy Scripture. *Judges* v. 20. *to Sifera a Prey of divers Colours of Needle-work.*

and gaudy Spectacle. Now when *Solon* came before him, and seem'd not at all surpris'd, nor gave *Cræsus* those Compliments he expected; but shew'd himself, to all discerning Eyes, to be a Man that despis'd such insolent vanity and weakness of judgment; he commanded them to open his Treasury to him, and to carry him about and shew him his rich and costly Furniture, though he did not desire to see it: for *Solon* wanted only to look upon him, to give a Judgment of the Man. When he return'd from viewing all This, *Cræsus* ask'd him if ever he had seen a happier Man than he was? And when *Solon* answer'd he knew one *Tellus* a fellow-Citizen of his, and told him that this *Tellus* was an honest Man, had good Children, a competent Estate all his Life, which he ended bravely fighting for his Country: *Cræsus* took him for an ill-bred Fellow, and a Clown, for not measuring Happiness by the abundance of Gold and Silver; and for preferring the Life and Death of a mean and private Man, before so much Power and such an Empire. However he ask'd him again, if besides *Tellus*, he knew any other Man more happy? And *Solon* replying, *Yes, Cleobis and Bito, who were very loving Brothers and extream dutiful to their Mother; for when the Oxen were too long before they came, they put themselves to the Waggon, and drew their Mother to Juno's Temple, who was extremely pleas'd with their Action, and call'd happy by her Neighbours; and then sacrificing, and feasting, they never rose again, but died without Pain or Trouble immediately after they had gotten so great a Credit and Reputation. What, says Cræsus angry, and dost not thou reckon us amongst the number of happy Men? And Solon, unwilling either to flatter or exasperate him more, reply'd, Providence, O King of Lydia, has given the Greeks a moderate proportion of other things: and we have likewise some share of a sort of Wisdom which looks bold, and by reason of its Mediocrity*

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crity fit for mean and ordinary Persons not for such as
 are of a Royal or splendid Condition; and This, observing
 the life of Man subject to all the varieties of fortune,
 forbids us to grow insolent upon our present Enjoyments,
 or to admire any Man's Happiness that may have a
 time of change, for what Variety will happen in fu-
 ture time to any Man is unknown: but to whom God
 hath continued Happiness unto the end, that Man we call
 happy; but the Happiness of Him that is yet alive, is like
 the Glory and Crown of a Wrestler that is still within
 the Ring, unsteady and uncertain. After This he was
 dismiss'd, having griev'd, but not instructed Cræsus.
 But Æsop, he that writ the Fables (being then at
 Sardis, upon Cræsus his Invitation, and very much
 esteem'd) was concern'd that Solon was so meanly
 treated, and gave him this Advice: Solon, let your
 Visits to Kings be as seldom, or as pleasant as you can:
 and Solon reply'd, No in truth, but rather let them
 be as seldom, or as profitable as you can. Then in-
 deed Cræsus despis'd Solon, but when he was over-
 come by Cyrus, had lost his City, was taken alive,
 condemn'd to be burnt, and laid bound upon the
 Pile before all the Persians and Cyrus himself; he
 cry'd out as loud as possibly he could three times,
 O Solon! Cyrus surpriz'd, and sending Some to en-
 quire, what Man, or God this Solon was, who
 was the only Person he invok'd in this unavoidable
 Misfortune? Cræsus told him the whole Story,
 saying he was one of the Wise Men of Greece, whom
 I sent for, not to be instructed, or to learn any thing
 that I wanted, but that he should see, and be a Wit-
 ness of that Happiness, the loss of which is now a
 greater Evil, than the enjoyment was a Good: for
 when I had it, the Good of it was such only in Name
 and Opinion, but now the loss of it at last hath in
 reality brought upon me grievous Troubles and incurable
 Calamities: and that Man conjecturing from what was
 then, what has since happen'd, bad me look to the end of
 my

my Life, and not rely and grow proud upon Uncertainties. When this was told *Cyrus*, who was a wiser Man than *Cræsus*, and seeing in the present Example that *Solon's* Saying was confirmed, he not only freed *Cræsus* from Punishment, but honour'd him as long as he lived; and *Solon* had the Glory, by the same Saying, to save One of these Kings and instruct the Other.

* ὄντινδς
* ὄχλος.

Solon was no sooner gone, but the Citizens began to quarrel; *Lycurgus* headed Those of the Champian part of the Country, *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmaeon* Those that liv'd toward the Sea, and *Pisistratus* the Mountaineers, among which were * a great Crowd of labouring People, the greatest Enemies to the Rich: Insomuch that tho' the City still us'd their Laws, yet All look'd for a change, and desired another form of Government, hoping that in the alteration they should have not an equal but a larger share, and be intire Masters of the contrary Faction. Affairs standing thus, *Solon* return'd, and was revered and honoured by All: But to speak and act in publick as formerly, he was neither able nor willing by reason of his Age; however privately discouraging with the Heads of the Factions, he endeavoured to reconcile and compose the differences: *Pisistratus* especially seeming to shew the greatest regard to him: for he [*i. e. Pisistratus*] had something very courteous and engaging in his Discourse; (1) was very ready to assist the Poor; and

(1) He had always two or three Slaves following him with several small Pieces of Silver, which he employ'd in comforting the Sick, and burying the Poor; and when he observ'd any one to look melancholly he call'd him to him, and ask'd him the Cause of it: if it was owing to his Poverty he furnish'd him upon the Spot with every thing necessary, not to keep him in Idleness, but to put him in a Condition to get his Livelyhood by his Labour. He kept no Porters at his Gardens, or Country Houses, but left every thing open to all the World, who were at Liberty to go, and take what

and in cases of Enmity was very moderate and tractable: and being very dextrous in putting on a semblance of those Qualities which he had not by Nature, he got greater Credit, than Those who really had them, of being thought a modest and fair Man, and one that particularly loved Equality, and would take it very ill if any one should go about to alter the present Settlement, or so much as desire Innovation, for by this means he deceived the People. But *Solon* presently found him out, and was the first that saw to the bottom of his Designs. However he did not come to an open rupture with him upon This, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better, and often told both Him and Others, that *if any one would take away his aspiring thoughts, and cure his desire of Absolute Rule, None would naturally make a more Virtuous Man, or a more Excellent Citizen.* (1) *Thespis* at this time beginning to change, or reform the Tragedy, the thing, because it was new, took very much with the multitude. (This was before it came to be a Prize Contention.) *Solon*, who was by Nature a lover of Hearing and Learning, and now in his old Age giving himself more leisure, sporting and

what they wanted. What *Plutarch* saith of the Poor is not to be understood of such as ask'd Alms, for there were none such at *Athens*. In those Days, saith *Iso-crates*, there were no Citizens that died of Want, or begg'd in the Streets, to the Dishonour of the Community.

(1) This Passage is of more importance than it appears to be at first sight. *Plutarch* does not say that *Thespis* at that time began to act Tragedies, but began to reform the Tragedies; which is very different. Tragedy was known long

before the Days of *Thespis*, but it was compos'd only of a Chorus of People, who sung, and revil'd each Other. *Thespis* was the first who sung into the Chorus a personating Character, which gave the Chorus Breath, by reciting the Adventure of some illustrious Personage; and this Narration, or Recital, was what in time introduced the Plot, or Subject of their Tragedies. It is not therefore to be wonder'd at if this Change or Improvement was highly relish'd by the *Athenians*. The first Piece that *Thespis* play'd was *Alceste*.

cheering

cheering himself with Musick and a Glass of Wine, went to see *Thespis* himself (as the antient Custom was) act; and after the Play was done, he discours'd him, and ask'd him if he was not ashamed to tell so many lyes before such a Company: and *Thespis* replying, 'Tis no harm to say or do so in jest and merriment; *Solon* vehemently striking his staff against the Ground, *Ah*, says he, *if we honour and commend such Merriment as this, we shall soon find it will creep into our serious affairs.* (1) About this Time *Pisistratus*, who had wounded himself all over his Body, was by his own Directions conducted in a Chariot into the Market-place, his Wounds bleeding fresh upon him, and stirred up the People, as if he had been thus dealt with by the treachery of his Enemies for his affection to the Government, and a great many shewed their resentment, and cry'd out at it. *Solon*, coming close to him, said, *O Son of Hippocrates you do not act the part of Homer's Ulysses well: for you take the same way to beguile your Citizens which he took to deceive his Enemies, when he wounded himself.* Notwithstanding This the Rabble were ready to fight in defence of *Pisistratus*, and the People flock'd to the great Assembly; where one *Ariston* making a motion that they should allow *Pisistratus* fifty Club-men for a Guard to his Person, *Solon* rose up and oppos'd it, and talk'd a great deal to the same purpose as he hath left us in his Poems:

You doat upon his Words and taking Phrase.

(1) We have this Transaction related at large in the first Book of *Herodotus*, who saith that *Pisistratus* did not only wound himself but his Chariot Mules likewise, that he might more easily persuade the People that he had

met with this Treatment from his Enemies as he was going to his Country Seat, and that it was with the greatest Difficulty in the World he escaped out of their Hands,

And

And again,

*True, each Man single is a crafty Soul,
But all together make one giddy Fool :*

But observing that the poorer sort were set upon gratifying *Pisistratus*, and raising a Tumult, and the Rich fearful, and getting out of harms way, he took his leave; saying he was wiser than Some, and stouter than Others: Wiser than Those that did not understand the design; Stouter than Those that, tho' they understood it, were afraid to oppose the Tyranny. Now the People having past the Law, were not exact with *Pisistratus* about the number of his Club-men, but took no notice of it, tho' he had list'd and kept as many as he would, till he seiz'd the Cittadel. When that was done, and the City in an uproar, *Megacles* with all the rest of the Relations of *Alcmæon* presently fled the Country. But *Solon*, tho' he was very old, and had None to back him, yet came into the Market-place, and made a Speech to his Citizens, sometimes blaming their stupidity and meanness of Spirit, sometimes passionately exhorting them, not thus tamely to lose their Liberty; and likewise then spoke that memorable Saying, *That before 'twas an easier task to have stop'd the rising Tyranny, but now the greater and more glorious Action to destroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered strength.* But All being afraid to side with him, he return'd home; and taking his Arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the Porch before his Door, with these words: *To the utmost of my power I have striven for my Country and my Laws;* and then he busied himself no more. His Friends advising him to leave the Country, he refus'd, but writ a Poem, and thus rattled the *Athenians*:

If

*If now you smart, blame not the heav'nly Powers,
For they are good, the fault is only ours;
We gave him all our Forts, we took the Chain,
And now he makes us Slaves, yet we complain.*

And when Many told him by way of advice that the Tyrant would have his Head for this, and asked to what he trusted that he ventur'd to speak so boldly, he reply'd, *My old Age*. But for all this, when *Pisistratus* had got all into his power, he so honoured *Solon*, obliged and kindly entertain'd him, that *Solon* gave him his Advice, and approv'd many of his Actions: For he kept many of *Solon's* Laws, observed them himself, and compell'd his Friends to do the like. And he himself, tho' then posselt of absolute Power, being accus'd of Murder before the *Areopagus*, came quietly to clear himself, but his Accuser let fall the Indictment. And he added other Laws, one of which is, that the Maim'd in the Wars should be maintain'd at the publick charge. But *Heraclides Ponticus* says, that *Pisistratus* follow'd *Solon's* example in This, who had before determin'd it in the case of one *Thersippus* that was maim'd. And *Theophrastus* asserts, that 'twas *Pisistratus*, not *Solon*, that made that Law against Laziness, which was the reason that the Country was better cultivated, and the City more free from disturbance. *Solon* having begun a great Work in Verse, concerning the Relation or Fable of the *Atlantick* Island, which he had learn'd from the wise Men in *Sais*, and (1) which particularly concerned the *Athenians*, presently grew

(1) This Fable imported that the People of that Island having subdued all *Africk*, and a great Part of *Europe*, threatned *Egypt* and *Greece*; but the *Athenians* making Head against their Victorious Commanders overthrew them in several Engagements, and confin'd them to their own Island.

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weary of it ; not (as *Plato* says) by reason of his multitude of business, but because of his age, being discourag'd at the greatness of the Task : for these Verses testify that he had leisure enough,

Now I grow old, yet much I daily learn,

And again,

*A Song, a Mistress, and a glass of Wine,
Which are most Mens delights, are also mine.*

But (1) *Plato* having a desire to finish and beautify this Subject of the *Atlantick* Island, (which was as it were a fair Ground-plot in a fine Country, not yet inhabited, and which belonged to him by right (2) of relation) begins it with making stately Entrances, noble Enclosures, large Courts, such as no Essay, no Fable, no Fiction ever had before : but beginning it late, he ended his Life before his Work ; and so the Reader's trouble for the unfinished part is the greater, as the satisfaction he takes in that which is compleat is extraordinary : For as the City of *Athens* left only the Temple of

(1) *Plato* made Choice of it because he thought it a Subject proper to induce the *Athenians* to be united among themselves, and to have a Taste of that Form of Government of which he had given them an Idea: for the ten Books of his *Republick*, which, properly speaking, are but one continued Dialogue, are only a Part of one and the same Treatise, consisting of Those, and the *Timæus*, and *Atlantick*, or *Critias*. His *Republick* is design'd to form or model his Citizens ; his *Timæus* describes to 'em the Formation of

the World, the Knowledge of which is to establish in them the Principles he had been teaching them ; and the *Critias*, or *Atlantick*, proves to 'em from the Authority of antient History that such were the Manners of their Ancestors, that is of the first *Athenians* who lived before the Deluge of *Deucalion*, by which means they were enabled to perform such glorious Exploits.

(2) For *Plato's* Mother was a descendant from a Brother of *Solon*.

Jupiter

Jupiter Olympius unfinish'd, (1) so *Plato*, amongst all his excellent Works, left this only Piece about the *Atlantick* Island imperfect. *Solon* liv'd after *Pisistratus* seiz'd the Government (as *Heracledes Ponticus* asserts) a long time; but *Phanias* the *Ephesian* says, not full two years: for *Pisistratus* began his Tyranny when *Comias* was Archon; and *Phanias* says, *Solon* dy'd under *Hegestratus*, who succeeded *Comias*. Now the Story (2) that when his Body was burnt, the Ashes of it were scattered all round the Island *Salamis*, is too absurd to be believ'd, or to be any thing but a mere Fable; and yet 'tis written by many considerable Men, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

(1) I think no one ever receiv'd a more handsome and consummate Encomium than what is here given *Plato* by *Plutarch*, who compares his Writings to those Temples at *Athens*, which are called by a *Greek* Poet the sacred Habitation of the Gods, and particularly comparing his *Critias*,

which he did not live to finish, to the Temple of the *Olympian Jupiter*, which was left likewise unfinish'd by the *Athenians* by reason of their domestick Tumults, and Seditions.

(2) 'Tis said by *Diog. Laertius* that this was done by his own Order.



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P. VAL. POPLICOLA.

THIS being the Character of *Solon*, with him we now proceed to Compare *Poplicola*, so called by the *Roman* People at the Expiration of his first Consulate, out of respect to his Merit; for his Paternal Name was *Valerius*, (1) descended from that *Valerius* who was the principal Author of uniting the *Romans* and *Sabins* into one People; for He it was that chiefly persuaded the two Kings to a Conference, and so reconciled them.

From this Man our *Valerius* (as they say) deriving his Extraction, was, (2) even while *Rome* was yet under

(1) He was descended from that *Volefius Valerius* who was One of the Three most considerable *Sabins* that followed *Tatius* to *Rome*.

(2) This is founded upon a Notion pretty generally receiv'd, that nothing is so contrary to the Spirit of Eloquence, as a Regal Constitution: for, according to that

Notion, a Mind innur'd to Servitude is capable of producing nothing noble and excellent; the Faculties of the Soul being cramp'd as it were, and enervated in a Prison. And That which seems to justify this Notion is, that Eloquence has been found to flourish more in such States, as from the

under Kingly Government, very Eminent both for his Eloquence (1) and Riches; the first of which he employed with great Integrity and Freedom in defence of Justice; and the Other in supplying the Necessities of Such as were in Want, with great Liberality and Kindness; from whence it might easily appear, that should the Government fall into a Republick, he would soon become a chief Person in the Community. Now when the People begun to hate and grow extreme weary of *Tarquinius Superbus*, (who had neither come fairly by the Government at first, but against all the Rules both of Religion and Justice, nor had exercised his Power like a legal King, but with the greatest Insolence and Tyranny) they took Occasion to revolt upon account of the sad Fate of *Lucretia*, who killed herself because of the Rape committed upon her [by the Son of *Tarquin*.] And *Lucius Brutus*, who was very active to bring about a Change of Government, (2) came first to *Valerius*, and find-

Nature of their Constitutions have been subject to intestine Divisions and civil Wars, than in Those whose Government has been founded more agreeably to the Rules of Policy, such as *Creta* and *Sparta*, which never produced any celebrated Orators any more than monarchical Constitutions, where whilst every thing depends upon the Will of a single Person. Affairs are decided rather by Debate than Eloquence; that is, in select Councils and not popular Assemblies. *Philip* could not throughout all his Dominions find an Orator capable to cope with *Demosthenes*; and *Rome's* Eloquence and Liberty expired at the same time. But I am afraid we rather chuse to father That upon a foreign Cause, which is owing solely to ourselves. It is not a monarchi-

cal Government that unbends the Genius, but our own Passions; the insatiable Desire of Riches, the Love of Pleasure, or Sloth and Indolence. However it is worth observing that *Plutarch* wrote This under a Monarchical Government, and if this Liberty does an Honour to the Person who made use of it, it does it more to the Prince who suffer'd it. I believe that Prince was *Trajan*.

(1) This Circumstance is very extraordinary and remarkable; for *Tarquin* had degraded all the noble Houses in *Rome*, and spoil'd the Rich.

(2) *Dionysius* and *Livy* tell us, that *Lucretia* sent for Them and her Father, and kill'd herself in their Presence, and that then it was resolv'd to expell the Regal Family.

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ing him very ready to engage, with his Assistance expell'd the * King and his Party. And whilst it was thought that the People would be inclined to chuse a single Person for their General, instead of the King, *Valerius* acquiesced, because the Right to command rather belong'd to *Brutus*, who had been the Leader in bringing on the Democracy. But the very Name of Monarchy appearing to be very offensive, and the People seeming less uneasy to bear a Power divided, and therefore proposing and calling out for Two; *Valerius* was in hopes that with *Brutus* he might be elected Consul, but was disappointed; for instead of *Valerius*, much against *Brutus's* mind, (1) *Collatinus*, the Husband of *Lucretia*, was chosen his Colleague; a Man no way superior to *Valerius* in Virtue. But such as had the greatest Sway dreading the King's Party, (who still us'd all Endeavours abroad and Solicitations at home to soften the People) were resolv'd upon a Chieftain of an intense Hatred to them, as most likely never to give way to their Interest.

Whereupon *Valerius* taking it much to heart, that he should not be thought zealous enough to do his utmost for the Service of his Country, only because he had sustained no private Injury from the Insolence of the Tyrants, absented himself from the Senate, withdrew from the practice of the Bar, and quitted all publick Concerns: Which gave many People an occasion of Discourse and great Concern, who were afraid lest he should out of resentment join himself to the King's Party, and overturn the State and Settlement of the City, which was yet but in a tottering Condition. (2) But when

(1) *Lucius Tarquinius* the Son of *Egerius*, and Nephew of *Tarquinius Priscus*. He was call'd *Collatinus* from *Collatia*, of which he was Governour. *Tarquinius*

Superbus, and *Egerius* the Father of *Collatinus*, were first Cousins.

(2) Not only among the People, but even some of the Nobility, of whom there were many, whose

when *Brutus*, who was jealous of some others, determin'd to give an Oath to the Senate upon the Sacrifice at the Altar; upon the day appointed *Valerius* came with great chearfulness into the *Forum*, and was the first Man that took an Oath never to give way in the least, or submit to *Tarquin*; but by force of Arms to maintain their Liberty: which gave great satisfaction to the Senate, and assurance to the Consuls; and his Actions soon after confirmed the Sincerity of his Oath. For Ambassadors came from *Tarquin*, with Letters to cajole the People, and artificial Speeches full of gentleness and good nature, whereby they thought especially to corrupt and seduce the Populace, intimating, as from the King himself, that he had quitted his high insolent Designs, and desired nothing but Reason and Moderation. And when the Consuls were of Opinion that these Men should have an Audience in publick, *Valerius* would not suffer it, but was very earnest to prevent any occasion or pretence of raising new Disturbance among the poorer sort, and Such as were more weary of War than of Tyranny. (1) Afterwards other Ambassadors arriv'd, who declar'd that *Tarquin* would resign his Crown, and lay down his Arms, only capitulating for a Restitution to himself, to his Friends and Relations, of their Monies and Estates, to support their Banishment. Now Several inclining to this Motion, and *Collatinus* in particular pleading for it; *Brutus*, who was of an inflexible Temper, and keen in his Resentment,

whose Uneasiness under their present Circumstances, and Hopes of better, made them desire to live rather under a Tyrant than in a popular State.

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith

they were the same with the fore-ment'on'd, and that failing in their first Demands, they contented themselves with the second, on purpose to gain time.

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(1) rush'd into the *Forum*, there proclaiming his Fellow-Consul to be a Traitor, in that he was so ready to grant a Supply both for War and Tyranny to Those to whom it would be very unreasonable to allow even Means of Subsistence in their Banishment. This caus'd an Assembly of the Citizens, amongst whom the first that spake was *Caius Minutius*, a private Man, who advis'd *Brutus*, and persuaded the *Romans* to take care that those Goods should be kept in their own Hands, to be employ'd against the Tyrants, rather than put into the Tyrants Hands, to be turn'd against them: Yet however 'twas the *Romans* Opinion, that since they enjoy'd the Liberty they had fought for, they should not reject Articles of Peace for the sake of the Goods, but to throw them out after the Tyrants. But the business of recovering the Goods was the least part of *Tarquin's* design; but the Demand founded the Humours of the People, and became a Preparatory to a Conspiracy; which the Amba-

(1) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* saith, on the contrary, that this Affair was debated in the Senate with a great deal of Moderation on each side. *Brutus* was of Opinion that the Tyrant's Effects ought to be retain'd, as forfeited to the Publick, and that they were not oblig'd to allow him wherewithal to raise and maintain an Army, and carry on a War against the *Romans*, which might end in a second Servitude and Oppression. *Collatinus* was of the contrary Opinion; he said their Quarrel was with the Tyrants, and that they had nothing to do with their Wealth; that it was enough that They were expelled, and that they ought to take Care they did not give the World reason to think that they had banish'd Them on

purpose, only to get into Possession of their Estates; or furnish them with a just, or at least plausible Pretence for declaring War against them. This Dispute took up the Senate several days: *Brutus's* Advice was thought the most profitable, but That of *Collatinus* the most honourable; and the Decision was at last left to the People, with whom it was carry'd for the most honourable, by the Majority of one Vote only. A remarkable Thing This, and worthy to be remembered: In a popular Assembly, and in an Affair of the greatest Importance, That which was Just was prefer'd to That which was Profitable, even after the Wisdom of so august a Senate was at a loss on which side to incline.

sadors were framing, while they delayed their return, under pretence of selling some of the Goods, keeping others safe, and ordering the rest to be sent away, till such time as they corrupted two of the eminentest Families in *Rome*, namely that of the *Aquilians*, which had three Senators in it, and that of the *Vitellians*, which had Two; All These, by the Mother's side, were Nephews to *Collatinus* the Consul: and besides, the *Vitellians* were likewise particularly allied to *Brutus*; for he married their Sister, (1) by whom he had several Children; Two of which, who were just come to age, the *Vitellians* drew in, as being their Relations and Companions, and prevailed upon them to become Partners in their Treason, assuring them withal, that if they would lift themselves in the noble Family of the *Tarquins*, and espouse the Royal Interest, they would be freed from the *Stupidity* and *Cruelty* of their Father: (his Irreconcilable to Offenders they term'd *Cruelty*; and as to his *Stupidity*, it was what himself had long pretended to, and used as a Cloke (2) for his security against the Tyrants: and he did not refuse to take his Sirname [i. e. *Brutus*,] from thence ever after.) When upon these Inducements the Youths came to discourse the *Aquilians*, all thought it convenient to oblige themselves in a solemn and dreadful Oath, with the Ceremony of killing a Man (3), and (4) tasting his Blood, and touching

(1) *Dionysius* and *Livy* make mention of no more than Two; but *Plutarch* sides with Those who will have it that *Brutus* had more, and that He who killed *Caesar* in the Capitol was descended from One of them. See the Life of *Brutus*.

(2) For *Tarquius* had put his Father and Brother to Death.

(3) This they did not from a Principle of Religion, or because

they thought such a Ceremony had a Virtue in it; but they meant to unite themselves more firmly by the Enormity of the Crime, and be put under the Necessity of being true to each other from the Despair of a Pardon. *Caesar* did the same Thing. We find not either in *Dionysius* or *Livy* any mention of this horrible Sacrifice.

(4) ἐπισπείσαντας, tasting it by way of Libation.

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his Entrails. For this purpose they met at the House of the *Aquilians*. The Room where they intended to do this wicked Act, was (as fit it should) an unfrequented darksome Place; and therefore they were not aware of a Slave named *Vindicius*, who had hid himself within it, not with any Design, or out of any Suspicion of what was to follow; but being accidentally within, and seeing with how much *Haste* and *Concern* they came in, he stopt short out of fear to be discover'd, and plac'd himself behind a Chest, so as he might observe their Actions and over hear their Debates. The result was to kill the Consuls, and they wrote Letters to *Tarquin* advertising the same, and entrusted them in the Hands of the Ambassadors, who lodged at the Place, as being entertained by the *Aquilians*, and were present at the treasonable Consult.

When they had done all This, and were departed, *Vindicius* creeping out privately, could not tell how to manage this surprizing Business, but was at his Wits end about it; for he thought it a very hard Case (as indeed it was) to arraign the Sons for so execrable a Villany before *Brutus* their Father, or the Nephews before *Collatinus* their Uncle; and he judged that no private *Roman* was fit to be trusted with Secrets of such Importance. But on the other hand, he could do any thing rather than conceal it; and so being forced by Conscience, he applied himself in all haste to *Valerius*, being induced to this chiefly by the known Generosity and Kindness of the Man, who was a Person to whom the Needy had easy access, and never shut his Gates against the Petitions or the Indigences of a low Estate: but when *Vindicius* came and made a total Discovery to him, his Brother *Marcus* and his own Wife being present at the Relation, *Valerius* was struck with Amazement, and by no

means would dismiss the Discoverer, but confin'd him in a Chamber, and plac'd his Wife as a Guard at the Door, sending his Brother in the interim to beset the King's Palace, and to seize, if possible, their Letters, and secure the Domesticks; whilst He with his constant attendance of Clients and Friends, and a great retinue of Servants, repair'd to the House of the *Aquilians*, who were absent from home; and therefore before any one could so much as suspect his Design, he forced his entrance thro' the Gates, and happen'd upon the Letters then lying in the Lodgings of the Ambassadors. Whilst things were in this motion, the *Aquilians* made an hasty return, and mustering themselves about the Gate, endeavour'd a recovery of the Letters: But *Valerius* and his Party made a resistance, and casting their Gowns about their Necks, after much struggling on both sides, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the Streets into the *Forum*. The like Engagement happen'd about the King's Palace, where *Marcus* seiz'd some other Letters, design'd to be convey'd away in the Goods, and laying hands on what Servants his industry could find, drag'd them also into the *Forum*. When the Consuls had quieted the tumult, *Vindicius* was brought out by the Orders of *Valerius*, and the Accusation being formed, the Letters were read, to which the Traitors had not the confidence to make any Reply. Most Others stood mute and dejected, [as sensible of the Villany;] yet Some, to ingratiate themselves with *Brutus*, mention'd Banishment; and the Tears of *Collatinus*, attended with *Valerius's* silence, gave some hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* calling each of his Sons by their Names, Come, says he, O Titus, and You *Valerius*, why do you not plead to this Indictment? The Question being thrice propos'd, and no return made to *Brutus*, he turn'd himself to the Lictors, and cry'd,

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What remains is your Duty. The Lictors presently seiz'd the Youths, and stripping them of their Garments, bound their Hands behind them, and tore their Bodies with Scourges: and though Others could not bear to look upon so tragical a Scene, yet 'tis said that *Brutus* himself never once turned away his Eyes, nor suffered the least glance of Pity to soften and smooth his wonted Rigour and Austerity, but resolutely beheld the Execution of the two Youths, even till the Lictors, extending them on the Ground, with an Ax-cut off their Heads; then he departed, committing the rest to the Judgment of his Collegue. This was an Action of so extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be sufficiently commended, or sufficiently dispraised, as it deserves; for either the greatness of his Virtue rais'd his Mind above the Impressions of Sorrow, or the extravagancy of his Passion took away all Sense of it: but neither the One nor the Other could be of an ordinary kind, or such as is common to *Human Nature*, but must be deemed either * *Divine* or *Brutish*. However it is more * ^{H 3 507.} reasonable that our Judgment in this case should ^{in Snelw- 865.} be determined by the great Reputation of the Man, than that his Virtue should be questioned upon account of the weakness of Such as pretend to pass Sentence upon it. (1) For in the general Opinion of the *Romans* it was not so great and glorious an Undertaking in *Romulus* to found the City, as it was in *Brutus* to frame and settle the Commonwealth.

(1) This is added, to make good what he had been just saying, viz. 'It is more reasonable that our Judgment in this Case should be determin'd by the great Reputation of the Man.' For if it be certain that the *Romans* themselves allow'd it was not so difficult to found *Rome*, as to settle the Commonwealth; the Author of this last Undertaking ought to be look'd on more as a God than Man; and that consequently his Behaviour, with respect to his Children, was not the Effect of his Insensibility, but of his Virtue.

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Upon *Brutus's* departure out of the *Forum*, a Consternation, Horror and Silence for some time possess'd All that reflected on what was done: besides, the easiness and forbearance of *Collatinus* gave Confidence to the *Aquilians* to request some time to answer their Charge, and that *Vindicius* their Servant should be remitted into their hands, and no longer harbour'd amongst their Accusers. When the Consul seem'd willing to yield to their Motion, and thereupon was just going to dissolve the Assembly; *Valerius* would neither deliver up *Vindicius*, who was encircled with the Rabble, nor suffer the People to withdraw, so as to let the Traitors escape; but at length laid violent Hands upon the *Aquilii*, and calling *Brutus* to his assistance, exclaim'd against the unreasonable Proceedings of *Collatinus*, to impose upon his Collegue the * necessity of taking away the Lives of his own Sons, and yet have thoughts of gratifying some Women with the Lives of Traitors and Enemies to their Country. *Collatinus* the Consul highly resenting this, and commanding *Vindicius* to be apprehended, the Lictors dispers'd the Rabble, and seiz'd their Man, and beat off whosoever endeavour'd a Rescue. But *Valerius's* Friends withstood the seizure, and the People cry'd out for *Brutus*; who returning immediately, after silence made, told them, that as to his own Sons himself was sufficient to pass judgment upon them, but as to the Case of the Others he left it to the Citizens, who were now at Liberty; and therefore (says he) let every Man speak his Pleasure, and gain the People over to his Persuasion. But there was no need of Oratory, for it being refer'd to the Vote, they were return'd condemn'd by all the Suffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

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and besides, One of his Names gave some disgust to the People, who abominated the Name of *Tarquin*. But when the forementioned Occasion happen'd, perceiving himself as an Offence to every one, he relinquish'd his Charge, and departed the City. The Court being call'd, in his room *Valerius* honourably obtain'd the Consulship, as a just Reward of his good Will; of which he thought *Vindicius* deserv'd a share, and therefore in the first place made him a free Citizen of *Rome*, and gave him the privilege of voting in what Tribe soever he was pleas'd to be enroll'd: (Which liberty in voting, *Appius* a long time after, out of a popular design, granted to other Libertines) and from this *Vindicius*, a perfect Manumission is call'd to this Day *Vindicta*. This done, the Goods of the Kings are expos'd to Plunder, and the Palace to Ruin: The pleasantest part of the *Campus Martius* had been possess'd by *Tarquin*; (1) this they devoted to the Service of that God; the Corn upon it happen'd to be then just reaped, and the Sheaves yet lodging on the Ground, they thought it not reasonable to commit them to the Flail, or make any use of them because they were consecrated; but All with one Consent fell to work, and carried the Shocks to the River, and withal cut down the Trees and threw Them in also, leaving the Soil (intirely bare and clear from any thing growing upon it) to the Deity. Now These thrown in in great quantities One upon Another, and closing together, the Stream could not carry far, but only to the place where what was first thrown in sunk, and stuck to the bottom. And thus whatever was thrown in after, finding no farther conveyance, was there stop'd and interwoven together, so that

(1) It had been consecrated to *quin* had sacrilegiously seiz'd upon him in the Days of *Romulus*, as it, and converted it to his own use, by sowing it with Corn.

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the Stream work'd the Mass into a firmness, and wash'd down Mud, which settling there, became an Accession of Matter as well as Cement to the Rubbish; insomuch that the violence of the Current could not remove it, but forc'd all things to it, and then with a gentle pressure clos'd it together, which by reason of its bulk and situation was capable of growing still bigger, and becoming firm Ground, able to retain the greatest part of what the Stream brought down. This is now the Island called *Holy Island*, which lies by the City, and has upon it divers Temples of the Gods, with spacious Portico's, and is call'd in the *Latin Tongue* (1) *inter duos pontes*. Tho' Some say, this happened not at the dedication of *Tarquin's Field*, but in after-times, when *Tarquinia*, a Vestal Priestess, gave another adjacent Field to the Publick, and for That obtain'd great Honours, as amongst the rest, that of all Women She alone should be allowed to give her Testimony in Court; but when they also decreed her the Liberty to Marry, she refused it: and this is the Story which Some give of the Matter.

But *Tarquin*, despairing of a return to his Kingdom by the Conspiracy, found a kind Reception amongst the *Tuscans*, who with a great Army lead him out into the Field; the Consuls headed the *Romans* against them, and made their rendezvous in the holy Places, the one call'd the *Arsian Grove*, the other the *Æsuvian Meadow*: When they came to charge, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Roman Consul*, encountring each other, not by Chance but out of a malicious Rage, (the One against a Tyrant and Enemy to his Country, the Other to be revenged for his Banishment) set

(1) It was so called, without doubt, because the *Fabrician Bridge* join'd it to the City on the side of the *Capitol*, and it was join'd to it by the *Cestian Bridge* on the side of the *Faniculæ Gate*.

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Spurs to their Horses, and ingaging with Fury instead of Reason, grew unmindful of their own Security, and so fell together in the Combat. This so dreadful an Onset hardly ensur'd a more favourable End; but both Armies doing and receiving equal damage, were diverted by a Storm. Now *Valerius* was much concern'd, as not knowing the Success of the Day; and seeing his Men as much dismayed at the sight of their own Dead, as reviv'd at the loss of the Enemy; so undiscernable alike had the greatness of the Slaughter made the appearance; and moreover, each side upon a near view of their own loss, were more enclined to judge themselves defeated, rather than by their uncertain guesses at the Enemies loss to think they had gained the Victory. But when Night came on, (and such a Night as one may presume must follow such a Battel) and the Armies were laid to rest, they write, that the *Grove* shook and murmured a Voice, saying, that the *Tuscans* had lost One Man more than the *Romans*. (1) This was esteem'd as an Oracle, and the *Romans* presently entertain'd it with shouts and expressions of joy: whilst the *Tuscans* through fear and amazement deserted their Tents, and were most of them dispers'd. The *Romans* falling upon the Remains, which amounted to nigh five thousand, took them Prisoners, and plunder'd the Camp: When they numbred the Dead, they found on the *Tuscans* side eleven thousand and three hundred, and on the *Romans* side as many, excepting only one Man. This Fight happen'd upon the last of *February*, and *Valerius* triumph'd upon the Conquest, being the first Consul that made his Entry in a Chariot with four Horses. This made a very fine and mag-

(1) It was said to be the Voice use of by *Valerius*, who thought of the God *Pan*; but without it the only Means of reviving the doubt it was an Artifice made drooping Spirits of his Soldiers.
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nificent Shew; neither did it (as Some suggest) move any Envy or Indignation in the Spectators, for then it would not have continued to be a Matter of Emulation or Ambition so many Ages after. The People applauded likewise the Honours he did to his Collegue, in setting forth his Obsequies with a Funeral Oration; which so pleas'd the *Romans*, and found so good a Reception, that from thence it became customary for the best Men to celebrate the Funerals of great and good Men with Speeches in their Commendation. (1) This Oration of his is said to be older than any Funeral Orations among the *Greeks*: unless, according to the Orator *Anaximenes's* Account, we acknowledge *Solon* to have been Author of the Custom.

But that part of *Valerius's* behaviour, which gave offence and disgust to the People, was This: that *Brutus* (whom they esteem'd as the very Father of their Liberty) had not presum'd to lord it without a Collegue, but first assum'd One and then Another to him as Partner in the Government: whereas *Valerius* (said they) drawing All into his own Power, becomes a Successor not to *Brutus's* Consulate, to which he has no relation; but to *Tarquin's* Tyranny. To what purpose is it (say they) in Words to harangue the Memory of *Brutus*, when in his Atti-

(1) For Funeral Orations were not in Use among the *Grecians*, till the Battle of *Marathon*, which fell out sixteen Years after the Death of *Brutus*. Before that time they solemnized the Funerals of their great Men with public Games and Combats. What the Poets in their Tragedies say of *Thofeus*, that he made a Speech in Praise of the Sons of *Oedipus* at their Enterment, is said in pure Flattery to the *Athenians*. The Honour of this Invention is justly due to the *Romans*, who have likewise this Advantage over the *Grecians*, that they observ'd more Equity and Justice on those Occasions than did the *Grecians*, who allow'd this Honour only to such as fell in fighting for their Country; whereas the *Romans* confer'd it indifferently on all great Men, in what Capacity soever they had been serviceable to the Publick, judging very rightly that all Virtues deserve to be crown'd with the same Honours.

ons he imitates Tarquinius, coming out single with all the Rods and Axes to attend him, and from an House more stately than the King's Palace which he demolished. And the Truth is, *Valerius* dwelt in a very grand House on the top of *Velia*, and so commanded the *Forum*, looking down from an Eminence upon all below; the Approach to it was difficult from without; so that when he came down with his train, it made a very pompous Appearance, like the State of a King. But *Valerius* shew'd how much it imported Men in Power and great Offices to have Ears open to freedom of Speech and the relation of Truth rather than Flattery; for upon his Friends remonstrances, finding that the People thought amiss of him, he neither disputed nor resented the Matter, but immediately overnight got together a great Number of Workmen, pulled down his House, and levell'd it with the Ground; so that in the Morning the People flocking thither to see the Ruins, they lov'd and admir'd the generosity of the Man, (1) but were grieved for the House, and regretted the loss of so large and beautiful a Fabrick, (as they would That of a Man put to Death in a heat, without the Forms of a legal Process,) undeservedly demolish'd to satisfy the Envy and Malice of Others: They were concerned likewise for their chief Magistrate, as for one that was now without House and Home, and forced to take up his Habitation with Others. For *Valerius* was entertained by his Friends, till the People gave him Ground, and an House was built upon it less stately than the former, in the

(1) They were sorry when they saw it demolish'd, and yet they wou'd have been offended if it had been kept standing. This sets forth in most lively Colours the Temper of the Vulgar, of whom *Plato* has very well observ'd that they condemn, and repent, put a Man to Death, and then wou'd give all the World to have him restor'd to Life.

Place where now stands (1) the Temple of *Victrix Publicus*.

And now resolving to make the Government, as well as himself, instead of being terrible, to become easy and grateful to the Populace, (2) he parted the Axes from the Rods, which always upon his entrance into the Assembly, with an humble submission he vail'd to the People, as forming thereby a fine appearance of *Democracy*, (or *Sovereignty in the People*;) and this the Consuls observe to this day. But the People were not aware that This was done not to make himself Mean, as They imagined, but to keep down and abate their Envy by this Moderation; and procuring to himself so much real Power as he seemed to detract from his Authority, while the People submitted to him with pleasure, and bore every thing willingly, insomuch that they gave him the Name of *Poplicola*, which signifies *One that courts the People*; which Name got the better of all his former Names, and therefore this Name we shall use in relating the Sequel of his Life.

(1) So it is in the printed Books, and so Sigonius reads it in *Livy*; but can it be imagined that there ever was at Rome a Temple of that Name? It is most certain either that this Passage has been corrupted, or that *Plutarch* himself was grossly mistaken; and that having read in the *Latin* Historians, *ubinunc est Templum vica potæ*, for want of understanding it, he took it for *Vicus Publicus*; but it is more likely that the Text has been corrupted. The latter Editions of *Livy* give us the Passage in the following Words. *Delata confestim Materia omnis infra Veliam, & ubi nunc vica potæ est, Domus in infimo Clivo adificata.*

All the Materials were immediately remov'd to the Bottom of Mount Velia, at the Foot of which they built him another House, upon that Spot, where now stands the Temple of Vica potæ; that is of Victory, for the Antients call'd Victory by that Name, which implies not only to conquer, but to be able to enjoy the Fruits of that Conquest, vincere, & potiri. A Victory is, no Victory if one gets nothing by it.

(2) He ordain'd that for the future the Consuls should only have the Rods born before them in the City, and the Axes when they were in the Field.

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(1) He gave free leave to Any to sue, during the Vacancy, for the Consulship; but before the admittance of a Collegue, mistrusting futurity, lest the emulation or the ignorance of Him should cross his designs, by his own Authority he enacted some good and noble Constitutions. First he supply'd the vacancies of the Senators, which either *Tarquin* had long before put to death, or the War had lately cut off; Those that were registred, They write, amounted to One hundred threescore and four: afterwards he made several Laws, which added much to the Peoples liberty; as One, granting Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People from the censure of the Consuls; a Second, that made it Death for any one to accept the Magistracy without the Peoples consent; a Third for the relief of poor Citizens, which taking off their Taxes encourag'd their labours; Another against Disobedience to the Consuls, which was no less popular than the rest, and rather to the benefit of the Commonalty, than to the advantage of the Nobles; for it impos'd upon Disloyalty the penalty of five Oxen and two Sheep; the price of a Sheep being ten *Oboli*, of an Ox an hundred. For the use of Money was then infrequent amongst the *Romans*, their Wealth consisting in a plenty of Cattle; so that afterwards their Estates were call'd * *Peculia* from *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*, and had upon their antient Money engrav'd an Ox, a Sheep, or an Hog; and hence firnam'd their Sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*,

* Πεκάλια
ἀπὸ τῆς
βάτων.

(1) I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Particular. *Poplicola* might allow of this Liberty just at that time, to cajole the People; but it is certain it had no Effect. The *Patricians* only were qualified for the Consulate, into which Dignity no *Plebeian* was admitted for a long time. *Lu-*

cus Sextius was the First among Them that was advanced to that Honour, one hundred and forty five Years after the Occurrences of which *Plutarch* is speaking in this place; nor did That hold for above Eleven Years, for in the twelfth Year both Consuls were again chosen from among the *Patricians*.

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and *Porcii*, (they calling *Capræ* Goats, and *Porci* Hogs.) These Laws shew'd the evenness and the popularity of the Giver; yet amidst this moderation he instituted one excessive Punishment, for he made it lawful without accusation to take away any Man's Life that aspir'd to Tyranny, and acquitted the Executioner, if he produc'd Evidences of the Crime; for tho' 'twas not possible, that One, whose designs were so great, should escape all notice, yet because 'twas possible his Power might prevent Judgment, which the Usurpation itself would then take off, he gave a Licence to any to * *prevent the Usurper*. He was honour'd likewise for the Law touching the Treasury; whereas the Citizens were obliged to contribute out of their Estates to the Wars, he would neither be himself concern'd in the disposal of the publick Money, nor suffer any of his Friends; and that the publick Money might never fall into private Hands, he allotted the Temple of *Saturn* for the Treasury (in which to this Day they reposit the Tribute-Money) and granted the People the liberty of chusing two young Men as † *Questors*, i. e. *Treasurers*; and the First were *P. Veturius* and *Minutius Marcus*, there being a great Sum collected, for they assess'd one hundred and thirty thousand, excusing Orphans and Widows from the Payment. Affairs standing in this posture, he admitted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his Collegue, and gave him the precedence in the Government, by resigning up the *Fasces*, i. e. *Rods*, to him, as due to his Years; which humble observance to Age was deriv'd to Posterity. But within a few Days *Lucretius* dy'd, and *Marcus Horatius* succeeded in that Honour, and continu'd the remaining part of the Year.

Now whilst *Tarquin* was making Preparations in *Tuscany* for a second War against the *Romans*, 'tis said a portentous Accident fell out. While *Tarquin*

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was as yet King, and had almost finished the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, he designing, whether from a Divine Impulse, or his own Pleasure, to erect an Earthen Chariot upon the top, entrusted the Workmanship to *Tuscans* of the City *Veii*, but soon after was oblig'd to retire from his Kingdom: the Work when modell'd, the *Tuscans* set in a Furnace, but the Clay shew'd not those passive Qualities which usually attend its Nature, to subside and be condens'd upon the Exhalations of the moisture, but rose up and swell'd to that bulk, that being consolidated and firm, notwithstanding the removal of the Head and breaking down the Walls of the Furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The Wise Men look'd upon this as a Divine Prognostick of Success and Power to Those that should enjoy it, and the *Tuscans* resolv'd not to deliver it to the *Romans*, who demanded it, but answer'd, that it rather belong'd to *Tarquin* than to Those that forc'd him into Exile. A few Days after, whilst they were celebrating the Horse Races at *Veii*, with the usual Shows and Solemnities; the Charioteer who had gain'd the Prize, with his Crown on his Head, softly driving his Victorious Chariot out of the Ring, the Horses, upon no apparent occasion, started on a sudden, and either by a Divine Instigation, or meer Accident, hurry'd away their Driver full speed to *Rome*; neither did his holding them in prevail, or his * gentle Sop- * ὡς πρὸς things, but with Violence was forc'd along, till coming near the Capitol, was there thrown (1) by the Gate call'd *Ratumena*. This Occurrence rais'd Wonder and Fear in the *Veians*, who upon this permitted a delivery of the Chariot.

Now *Tarquin*, the Son of *Demaratus*, warring with the *Sabins*, had made a Vow to build a Tem-

(1) It was so call'd from this Accident, for the Driver's Name was *Ratumenas*.

ple to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which *Tarquin* the Proud, the Son or Grandson of him that had made this Vow, began, but could not dedicate it, because he lost his Kingdom before 'twas finish'd. When 'twas compleated and adjusted (1) with all its Ornaments, *Poplicola* had a great Ambition to the Deication; but many of the Nobility, though they envy'd not the Honours due to his great Services in Peace and War, yet could not bear that he should usurp That, which, they said, belong'd to Another: and therefore they importun'd *Horatius* to sue for the Dedication; and whilst *Poplicola* was engag'd to lead the Army into the Field, voted it to *Horatius*, and accordingly conducted him to the Capitol, assuring themselves, that were *Poplicola* present, they should not have prevail'd. Yet Some write, *Poplicola* was by Lot destin'd against his Will to the Army, and *Horatius* to the Dedication; (2) but it is easy to judge of what past between them on this Affair, from what happen'd on the day of the Dedication: for upon the Ides of *September*, which happens about the Full-Moon of the Month *Metagitnion*, the People flocking to the Capitol, and Silence enjoin'd, *Horatius*, after the Performance of other Ceremonies, holding the Doors, according to custom, pronounc'd the Words of Dedication; then *Marcus*, Brother of *Poplicola*, who had stood for some time

(1) Which was not till *Poplicola's* third Consulship. This Temple was 200 Foot long, and 185 or something more deep. The Front was adorn'd with three Rows of Columns, and the Sides with Two. In the Nave were three Cells, or Chappels, One of *Jupiter*, Another of *Juno*, and the Third of *Minerva*.

(2) *Plutarch* means that it is plain from what happen'd at the Dedication that the Consuls had

not been destin'd by Lot, One to the War, and the Other to the Dedication; for such a Decision would have been look'd upon as an Instance of the Will of the Gods; and *Poplicola's* Brother would not have presum'd to interrupt *Horatius* in the Solemnity, nor would the People have suffer'd it, if he had been so minded. *Plutarch* here manifestly contradicts *Livy*.

at the Door, observing his opportunity, cry'd, *O Consul, thy Son lies dead in the Camp*; which made great Impressions upon the Auditory, yet in no wise discompos'd *Horatius*, who made only this Reply, *Then cast the dead out whither you please, for I shall not admit of Sorrow*; and so went on with the Dedication. This News was not true, but *Marcus* thought the Lie might avert him from his Performance. This argu'd him a Man of an admirable Constancy, whether he presently saw through the Cheat, or believ'd it as true, without shewing any Discomposure in his Passions. The same Success attended the Dedication of the Second Temple: The First, which was built by *Tarquin*, and dedicated by *Horatius*, (1) was burn'd down in the Civil Wars. (2) The Second *Sylla* built, and dying before the Dedication, bequeath'd that Honour to *Catulus*; but when This was demolish'd in the *Vitellian* Sedition, *Vespasian* with somewhat like Success began a Third, and saw it finish'd, but liv'd not to see its Ruins, which accompany'd his Death; yet he was more fortunate than *Sylla*, as *He* died before the Dedication of his Work, the *Other* before the Destruction of it, for no sooner was *Vespasian* dead but the Capitol was burnt. A Fourth was built by *Domitian*, and dedicated. 'Tis said *Tarquin* expended forty thousand Pound of Silver in the very Foundations; (3) but the greatest Treasure

(1) In the Wars between *Sylla* and *Marius*. It was consecrated in the 3d Year of the 68th Olympiad, 504 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and was destroy'd the 2d Year of the 174th Olympiad, 81 Years before the Incarnation, so that its Continuance was no more than 423 Years.

(2) *Sylla* built and adorn'd it with Columns of Marble, which

he had taken out of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and transported to *Rome*. *Catulus* consecrated it 67 Years before the Birth of Christ, and 14 after the Destruction of the former. *Sylla* was heard to say, as he was dying, that he had been unfortunate in nothing, but in not having been able to dedicate that Temple.

(3) If what *Plutarch* saith here

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σιν.

† Διδανοί
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ροί.

Treasure of any private Man in *Rome* wou'd not discharge the Gilding of this Temple in our Days, it amounting to above twelve thousand Talents: the Pillars were cut out of * *Pentelick* Marble, having Length suitable to their Thickness, and these we saw at *Athens*; but when they were cut a-new at *Rome*, and embellish'd, they gain'd not so much in Beauty, as they lost in Proportion, being render'd † too taper and slender. Now Whosoever shou'd admire the Excellency of the Capitol, and afterwards survey a Gallery in *Domitian's* Palace, or an Hall, Bath, or the Apartments of his Concubines; what *Epicarmus* wrote of a profuse Man,

Οὐ φιλόνητον ἔστι τὸ γ' ἔδῃ ἔχεις νόσον, χαίρεις δ' ἰδὲς,

*Thou art not gen'rous, thy Bounty's Vice within,
Thy Gifts thou lavish'st, and glory'st in the Sin;*

he might readily apply it to *Domitian*, *Thou art neither pious or noble, only pleasing thy self in the Itch*

be true, there was no private Man in *Rome* so wealthy in the days of *Trajan*, as there were in the Times of the Common-wealth, and under the other Emperors. We read in History of *Emilius Scaurus*, who in his Edileship erected a Theatre for an Entertainment of but a few days Continuance, in which were 360 Pillars, Some of Marble, Some of Brass, and Others of Chrystal; 3000 Statues filled up the Spaces between those Pillars, and the whole Stage was hung with the richest Tapestry, and That almost all cover'd with Pictures very rare, and invaluable. When the Entertainment was over, *Scaurus*, who scorn'd to have any thing seen in his House at *Rome*, that had been

made use of on that Occasion, sent all to his Country Seat at *Tusculum*, which was set on Fire by his Slaves, whereby Goods to the Value of ten or twelve Millions were consumed, and yet they were but a Part of that pompous Furniture that had not been a Month in use. Every one has heard of the Wealth of *M. Crassus*, who had an Estate in Land of above twenty Millions a Year. *L. Cornelius Balbus* left by Will to every Roman Citizen twenty five *Denarii* a-piece, amounting to about Sixteen Shillings of our Money; and it is well known that many private Men among the *Romans* maintain'd from ten to twenty thousand Slaves, not for Service but Ostentation.

of Building, and a Desire, like Midas, of converting all into Gold and precious Stones. And thus much for this matter,

Tarquin, after the great Battel wherein he lost his Son engaging in single Duel with *Brutus*, fled to *Clusium*, and sought Aid from (1) *Clara Porfenna*, then the most powerful Prince of *Italy*, and a Person of singular Candour and Generosity, (2) who assur'd him of his Assistance, immediately sending his Commands to *Rome*, that they should receive *Tarquin* as their King; and upon the *Romans* Refusal proclaim'd War, and having signify'd the Time and Place where he intended his Assault, approach'd with a great Army. Now (3) *Poplicola* in his absence was chosen Consul a second time, and *Titus Lucretius* his Colleague; but returning to *Rome*, and desirous to be thought more brave than *Porfenna*, (4) he built the City *Sigliuria* while *Porfenna* lay encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of it, and walling it at a great expence, there plac'd a Colony of seven hundred Men, that it might be thought he

(1) This is a Fault in the Transcriber, it shou'd be *Laras Porfenna*; *Laras*, or *Lars*, signifying King in the *Tuscan* Language, and was attributed to *Porfenna*, because He was the most Potent of all the Kings that reign'd in *Tuscany*, which Kings were called *Lucumones*.

(2) *Porfenna* espous'd the Cause of *Tarquin*, because he was originally of *Tuscany*; besides, the Expulsion of this Prince was of dangerous Consequence to him. *Livy* adds to This a Reflection, which seems something remarkable: *Porfenna* thought it a great Honour and Advantage to the *Tuscans*, that *Rome* shou'd have a King, and especially a *Tuscan* King.

Porfenna tum Regem esse Roma, tum Etrusca Gentis Regem, amplum Tusci ratus, Romam infesto Exercitu Petit.

(3) *Porfenna* did not march against *Rome* till the Year following, under *Poplicola*'s third Consulship, wherein he had *Horatius Pulvillus* for his Partner.

(4) That City was built and fortified under his Second Consulship, and consequently before *Rome* was menaced by *Porfenna*; nor was it built out of Bravery, or to shew how much he surpassed *Porfenna* in Courage, but to serve as a Safeguard against the *Latins*, and *Hernici*, who then began to grow formidable.

was little concern'd at the War: but *Porfenna* making a sharp Assault, oblig'd the Defendants to retire to *Rome*, who had almost in their Entrance admitted the Enemy into the City, had not *Poplicola*, by fallying out at the Gate, prevented them, and joining Battel by *Tyber* side, oppos'd the Enemy, that press'd on with their multitude; but at last sinking under his honourable Wounds, was carried out of the Fight. The same fortune befell *Lucretius*, so that the *Romans* being dismay'd retreated into the City for their security, and *Rome* was in great hazard of being taken, the Enemy making good their pursuit to the Wooden Bridge, where (1) *Horatius Cocles*, seconded by two of the eminentest Men in *Rome*, (2) *Herminius* and *Spurius Lartius*, made head against them. (This name he obtain'd from the loss of one of his Eyes in the Wars; or, as Others write, from the deprefure of his Nose, which caused a seeming * *coalition of his Eye-brows*, and made both Eyes appear but as One; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a defect in Pronunciation, they usually call'd him *Cocles*.) This *Cocles* kept the Bridge, and repuls'd the Enemy, till his own Party broke it down behind, and then in his Armour cast himself into the River, and swam to the hither side, being wounded upon his Hip with a *Tuscan* Spear. *Poplicola* admiring his Courage, (3) obliged the *Romans*

*ὁπρὺς σελ-
νεχῶσαι.

(1) He was the Son of One of the Consul *Horatius's* Brothers. descended from that *Horatius* who remain'd Victorious in the Combat betwixt *Horatii* and the *Curiatii*. in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*.

(2) I have ventur'd here to correct the Text, where *Plutarch* saith it was *Herminius* and *Lucretius*; but how cou'd *Lucretius* be there, who had just before been wounded, and carry'd off? *Livy*

calls the two Officers, who assist-ed *Horatius Cocles*, in the Defence of the Bridge *Herminius* and *Lartius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* does so too, and adds that they had the Command of the Right Wing.

(3) The Manner in which *Dionysius* relates this Circumstance, tends more to the Honour of *Horatius*, for he saith it proceeded from the meer Motion of the People.

mans to tax themselves, and severally to make a Present to *Horatius* of as much as each of them respectively spent in a day, and afterwards they gave him as much Land (1) as he himself could encircle with a Plough in one day; besides they erected a brazen Statue to his honour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a requital for the Lameness he contracted from his Wound. But *Porfenna* laying close Siege to the City, a Pestilence raged amongst the *Romans*, besides a new Army of the *Tuscans* made Incurfions into the Country; *Poplicola* therefore, a third time chosen Consul, thought it the safest way to keep upon the Defensive, and chose rather to gain upon the Enemy by Stratagem, than to make any Sally upon them. It was necessary to remove them farther off, when he found they committed waste up to the very Gates of *Rome*, and therefore in an (2) Ambuscade he had laid for them, five thousand of them fell upon the Spot. Now the History of *Mutius* is variously deliver'd, but this Relation shall follow that Account which appears to us most probable: He was a Person endow'd with every Virtue, but most eminent in Warfare; and resolving to kill *Porfenna*, attir'd himself in the *Tuscan* Habit, and using their Language came to the Camp, enter'd into the King's Quarters, and approaching the Seat (3) where the King sat a-

ple. However it was, this Present cou'd not but amount to a very considerable Sum, for even the Women were not exempted on this Occasion, so that he cou'd not have so few as three hundred thousand Contributors.

(1) This was a Sight worthy of the Heroick Ages: the same Man had no sooner repuls'd the Enemy, and preserv'd *Rome*, but he was seen at the Plough-tail; for which Reason these Words *He himself* are not to be overlook'd. And this cannot but remind one

of a Passage in *Florus*, who speaking of *Cincinnatus* saith, that after he had triumph'd he return'd to his Husbandry, *rediit ad boves triumphalis Agricola*.

(2) This Stratagem of *Poplicola's* is describ'd at large by *Livy*, in Lib. 11. Cap. 11.

(3) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith, the King was not then present, but that his Secretary was mistaken for him. If the King had been there in Person, it wou'd have been impossible for *Mutius* not to have distinguish'd him.

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mongst his Nobles, but not of a certainty knowing the King, and yet fearful to enquire, drew out his Sword, and stab'd Him who amongst all the Rest made the likeliest appearance of a King. *Mutius* was taken in the act, and put under Examination. A Pan of Fire being brought to the King, who intended to sacrifice, (1) *Mutius* thrust his right Hand into the Flame, and whilst it burnt, beheld *Porfenna* with a stedfast and undaunted Countenance. *Porfenna* admiring the Man, (2) dismiss'd him, and return'd his Sword, reaching it from his Seat: *Mutius* receiv'd it in his left hand, which occasion'd the Name of *Scævola*, i. e. *left-handed*; and said, *I have overcome the Terrors of Porfenna, yet am vanquish'd by his Generosity, and Gratitude obliges me to discover what no Punishment could extort*; and assur'd him then, that three hundred *Romans*, All of the same Resolution, lurk'd about his Camp, only waiting for an opportunity; and that He by Lot destin'd to make the first Attempt, was not troubled he miscarry'd in the Success, because he was so good a Man, and deserv'd rather to be a Friend to the *Romans* than an Enemy. To This *Porfenna* gave credit, and thereupon express'd an Inclination to a Truce; not, I presume, so much

(1) I doubt there is something wanting in this Place, and that *Plutarch* forgot what is mention'd by *Livy*, viz. That *Porfenna* threaten'd *Mutius* with the Rack, in order to force him to discover his Accomplices. For it was upon that Menace *Mutius* plung'd his Hand into the Flame, to let his Enemy see that he was not to be intimidated. This is warranted by what *Plutarch* himself makes *Mutius* say in the Sequel, *I have overcome the Terrors of Porfenna*. In truth, *Livy* is the only Writer that makes mention of this Circumstance. *Dionysius* has not a

Word of it, so that one may rationally conclude it was added on purpose to give the Action a greater Luster, and make it look the more surprizing.

(2) There is a stronger Instance of Magnanimity in this Account, than in That *Dionysius* gives of it. He tells us that *Porfenna* order'd him to Prison, and had not releas'd him but upon his Son's Advice, who told him, that his strongest Security against the Attempts of the *Romans*, wou'd be their Friendship, on which he ought to rely, much more than on the Strength and Number of his Guards.

out

out of fear of the three hundred *Romans*, as an admiration of the *Roman* Courage. All other Writers call this Man *Matius Scævola*: yet (1) *Athenodorus Sandon*, in a Book wrote to *Ottavia*, *Cæsar's* Sister, avers he was also call'd *Oppigonus*, that is *Posthumus*. *Poplicola* not so much esteeming *Porfenna's* Enmity dangerous to *Rome*, as his Friendship and Alliance serviceable, was induc'd to refer the Controversy betwixt Him and *Tarquin* to His Arbitration, and several times summon'd *Tarquin* to appear, and make his Defence, undertaking to prove him the worst of Men, and justly depriv'd of his Kingdom: But *Tarquin* proudly reply'd, he would admit no Judge, much less *Porfenna*, that had revolted from his Confederacy. *Porfenna* resenting this Answer, and mistrusting the Equity of his Cause, being likewise solicited to it by his Son *Aruns*, who was earnest for the *Roman* Interest, made a Peace on these Conditions, That they should resign the Country they had taken from the *Tuscans*, and restore all Prisoners, and receive their Fugitives. To confirm the Peace, the *Romans* gave as Hostages ten of the Nobility's Sons, and as many Daughters, amongst whom was *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*.

Upon these assurances, *Porfenna* ceas'd from all Acts of Hostility, and the *Roman* Virgins went down to the River to bathe, at that part where the Crookedness of the Bank embracing the Waters, rendered them smooth and serene; (2) and seeing no Guard, or Any coming or going over, were encouraged to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and the violence of the Stream. Some

(1) *Athenodorus* the Son of *Sandon*, a Stoick Philosopher, who had been Preceptor to *Augustus*, and was afterwards, by his Appointment, the Same to *Tiberius*.
 (2) *Dionysius* on the contrary, saith, they were under a Guard, but that they desired them to keep

at some Distance, that they might undress without being seen. This indeed seems the most probable; how is it likely they shou'd leave Hostages of their Consequence at their own Liberty, upon their bare Parole?

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μα Πα-
μαίω,

affirm that one of them, by Name *Clælia*, passing over on Horseback, persuaded the rest to follow; but upon their safe arrival coming to *Poplicola*, he neither admir'd or approv'd their return, but was concern'd, lest he should appear less faithful than *Porfenna*, and this boldness in the Virgins should argue * *Treachery in the Romans*; so that apprehending them, (1) he sent them back to *Porfenna*. But *Tarquin's* Men having Intelligence thereof, laid a strong Ambuscade on the other side for Those that conducted them; who skirmishing together, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, rush'd through the Enemy and fled, and with the assistance of Three of her Retinue made good her Escape; whilst the rest were dangerously hedg'd in by the Soldiers. *Aruns*, *Porfenna's* Son, having Intelligence of their Danger, hasten'd to their rescue, and putting the Enemy to flight, deliver'd the *Romans*. When *Porfenna* saw the Virgins return'd, and demanding who was the Author and Abetter of the Design, and understanding *Clælia* to be the Person, he look'd upon her with a Countenance equally chearful and compassionate, and commanding one of his Horses to be brought sumptuously adorn'd, made her a Present of it. This is produced as an evidence by Those, who affirm (2) that *Clælia* only pass'd the River on Horseback; Those who deny it, esteem'd it only as an Honour the *Tuscans* did to her Courage, which had incited her Companions to so hardy an Enterprize. However it be, her (3) Effigies on Horseback stands in the *Via Sacra*, as it

(1) *Dionysius* saith he surrender'd them to him himself.

(2) This Tradition is founded only upon *Porfenna's* Present to *Clælia*. It was thought in after-times that *Porfenna* made her a Present of a Horse, because she alone had pass'd the *Tiber* on Horseback; but where cou'd *Clælia* get

a Horse? And was She the only One of the Hostages that cou'd get one? *Porfenna* presented her with a Horse only in Honour of her Courage, and he wou'd have done the same to any brave Soldier after a gallant Action.

(3) *Dionysius* on the contrary tells us in express Terms, that in his

it leads to the *Palatium*, which Some say is the Statue of *Clælia*, others of *Valeria*. *Porfenna* thus reconcil'd to the *Romans*, oblig'd them with a fresh instance of his Generosity, and commanded his Soldiers to depart the Camp only with their Arms; and leaving (1) their Tents wealthy, and furnish'd with Provisions, he assigned them to the *Romans*. Whence it became customary afterwards, when any Goods were put up to Sale on Account of the Publick, for the Crier to declare in the first Proclamation that they were the Goods of *Porfenna*, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindness; and a Statue of him in Brass was erected close to the Senate-house, plain, but of antique fashion. Afterwards the *Sabins* making Incurfions upon the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, Brother to *Poplicola*, was made Consul, and with him *Posthumius Tubertus*, the chief management of Affairs being still under the Direction of *Poplicola*. *Marcus* obtain'd two great Victories, in the latter of which he slew thirteen thousand *Sabins* without the loss of one *Roman*, and was rewarded with a House built in the *Palatium* at the publick charge, as an additional honour to his Triumphs; and whereas the Doors of other Houses open'd inward into the Houses, they made This to open outward into the Street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the publick Service. The same fashion in their Doors the *Greeks* (they say) had of old, which appears from their

his time, that is in the Reign of *Augustus*, there were no Remains of that Statue. *There is not* (saith he) *in our Days any thing of that Statue to be seen. We are told that it was destroy'd by a Fire which consum'd several of the contiguous Buildings. Plutarch* without doubt. was mis-led by Those who pretended to shew him the Antiquities of Rome.

(2) The *Tuscans* were always as

well furnish'd and supply'd in their Camp, as they cou'd be in a City, and whenever they decamp'd, they constantly set Fire to it; but *Porfenna* for once broke through that Custom in Favour to the *Romans*. This prov'd a very magnificent Bounty; for the Publick Treasurers possess'd themselves of the Booty, and rais'd great Sums from the Sale of it.

Comedies,

Comedies, wherein Those that are going out make a noise at the Door within, to give notice to Those that pass by or stand near the Door, that the opening the Door into the Street might occasion no surprisal.

The Year after *Poplicola* was made Consul the fourth time, when a Confederacy of the *Sabins* and *Latins* threatned a War; besides, a superstitious Fear over-run the City, because all the Women at that time pregnant miscarried, and no Conception waited its due time. *Poplicola* having thereupon consulted (1) the Books of the *Sibylls* he sacrificed to *Pluto*, and renew'd certain obsolete Games, that had heretofore been ordained by an antient Oracle of *Apollo*. By these Ceremonies he restor'd Life to the desponding City, and having, as he wou'd have it thought, in this manner propitiated the Gods, he then prepar'd to arm himself against the Menaces of Men; for at that time nothing was talk'd of but formidable Leagues, and warlike Preparations of States confederated against the *Romans*. Now there was one *Appius Clausus* amongst the *Sabins*, a Man of a great Estate and strength of Body, but most eminent for his Virtue, and for being an excellent Speaker, who yet could not (what is usually the fate of great Men) escape the envy of Others, which was much occasioned by

(1) In the Beginning of *Tarquin's* Reign a Woman unknown shew'd him Nine Volumes of the *Sibylline* Oracles, which she offer'd to sell him at a certain Price. *Tarquin* thought them too dear; whereupon she burnt three, and demanded the same Price for the remaining six. The Tyrant laugh'd at her for an old Fool, that demanded the same Sum of Money for Six, which he thought too much for the Nine. Upon This she burnt three more, and still insisted upon the same Price. *Tar-*

quin astonish'd at the old Woman's steddiness consulted the Augurs, who told him that his Refusal of the Books was an affront to Religion, and that he ought to save the Three that were left by paying her the Sum she demanded. These Books were guarded with the utmost Care, and by Decree of the Senate were to be consulted in all publick Calamities. They were preserv'd safe till the Days of *Marius*, when they were burnt in the Fire that destroyed the Capitol.

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his protracting the War : his Enemies insinuated as if he suffer'd the *Romans* to encrease in Power, that he might have a better opportunity of enslaving his own Country; and he knowing how readily these Reports would be receiv'd by the gaping Multitude, and how offensive they would be to the Army and the Abettors of the War, was afraid to stand a Tryal; but having a considerable assistance of Friends and Allies, rais'd a Tumult amongst the *Sabins*, which delay'd the War. Neither was *Poplicola* wanting, not only to understand the grounds of the Sedition, but to promote and encrease it, and accordingly dispatch'd Emissaries with these instructions to *Clausus*, *That Poplicola was assur'd of his Goodness and Justice, and thought it even in bad Men unworthy, especially in Him, though injur'd, to seek revenge upon his Citizens; yet if he pleas'd for his own security to leave his Enemies and come to Rome, he should be receiv'd, both in publick and private, with that honour his Virtue deserv'd, and the Roman Grandeur requir'd.* *Appius* seriously weighing those things, which the Necessity of his Affairs represented to him as a fair Offer, and advising with his Friends, and they inviting Others to the same persuasion, (1) five thousand Families of them came to *Rome* with their Wives and Children, (2) being a People of a quiet and sedate Temper. *Poplicola*, advertis'd of their approach, receiv'd them with all the kind Offices of a Friend, and enfranchis'd them into the Community, allotting to every one two Acres of Land by the River of *Aniene*, but to *Clausus* twenty five Acres, and admitted him into the Senate, and

(1) Instead of 5000 Families *Dionysius* saith there were no more than 5000 Men fit to carry Arms.

(2) *Plutarch* adds this Character of them, because the *Romans* would have got nothing by re-

ceiving among them a Body of Men of a tumultuous Spirit, that delighted only in Sedition; This would have tended rather to the weakening of themselves than their Enemies.

made him an Associate in the Government; which he so prudently manag'd, that it hasten'd his Preferment, and so improv'd his Greatness, that his Posterity (1) the *Claudii* became inferior to no Family in *Rome*.

The departure of these Men rendred things quiet amongst the *Sabins*, yet the chief of the Community would not suffer them to settle into a Peace, but resented that *Clausus*, who by his Presence could not, should by his Absence as a Deserter obstruct their revenge upon the *Romans* for all their injuries; and coming with a great Army, they encamped near to *Fidenæ*, and plac'd an Ambuscade of two thousand Men in the obscure and hollow places about *Rome* with a design that some Horsemen should at Day-break make IncurSIONS, and Forage up to the very Gates of the City, on purpose to provoke the *Romans* to sally out, and then retreating draw them insensibly into the Ambuscade that they had prepared for them. But *Poplicola* having that very Day been advertis'd of their Designs by some Deserters, prepar'd himself accordingly, and made a Disposition of his Forces. That Evening he detach'd *Posthumius Balbus* his Son-in-law at the Head of 3000 Foot, with Orders to post them on the Hills under which the *Sabins* lay in Ambush; and order'd his Colleague *Lucretius*, at the Head of the lightest and most forward of the Troops, to repulse the Foragers; whilst He himself with the remainder took a large compass, and enclos'd the Enemy in the Rear. The Morning happen'd to be very thick and foggy, and *Posthumius*, by that time it was light, fell with loud Shouts and Cries from the Tops of the Hills, and assail'd

(1) There were two Families of the *Claudii* in *Rome*. One *Patrician* and the Other *Plebeian*. The first were surnam'd *Pulchri*, and the Other *Marcelli*. In course of time the *Patrician* Family pro-

duced twenty three Consuls, five Dictators, and seven Censors, and obtain'd Seven Greater, and Two Lesser Triumphs. Of This Family was the Emperor *Tiberius* descended.

the Ambuscade, whilst *Lucretius* in the mean time charg'd the light Horse, and *Poplicola* attacked the Camp of the Enemy. Thus every thing tended to bring the *Sabins* into a general Disorder, and That which contributed most to their Destruction was the confidence One Party had of the Other's Success; in which persuasion, instead of fighting, and making Head against the Enemy, they Both took to their Heels; They in the Camp fled towards the Ambuscade, and the Ambuscade endeavour'd to regain the Camp, so that Both hop'd for that assistance which neither was in Condition to give, and they All fell into the Hands of Those they were endeavouring to fly from, who without running any Danger destroy'd them. They had been all cut to Pieces, but for the nearness of the City *Fidenæ*, which prov'd an Asylum to several of them, especially to Those that quitted the Camp when the *Romans* broke into it; but They, who could not recover the City, either perish'd in the Field, or were taken Prisoners. Tho' the *Romans* usually ascrib'd every extraordinary Event to the seasonable Interposition of some friendly Deity, yet they attributed this Victory to the singular Conduct of their Commander. For Those who had been in the Action were heard to say openly that *Poplicola* had infatuated their Enemies, and deliver'd them almost fetter'd into their Hands, to be dispatch'd by their Swords. The People made themselves amends for their late Damages, out of the Spoils of the *Sabins*, and the Sale of their Captives; and *Poplicola* having receiv'd a second Triumph, and committed the City into the Hands of Those who were to succeed him in the Government, died full of Honours, after a Life well spent in the Attainment of every Thing great and desirable, as much as Man is capable of such Attainments here below. The People, as if they had

done nothing in honour of him while he was alive, but as if they were still greatly in his Debt for the many signal Services he had render'd them, decreed him (1) an Interment at the publick Charge, every one contributing a small Piece of Money call'd a *Quadrans* towards the Expence. Besides (2) the Women by common consent resolv'd to mourn for him a whole Year, which was a singular Instance of their Gratitude, and a sincere Veneration to his Memory. The People also ordain'd (3) that he shou'd be buried in the City, near the Place call'd *Velia*, and that it shou'd remain a Burying-place for his Posterity to all succeeding Generations. (4) Tho' at present none of the Family are interred there.

(1) As This was an Honour sometimes render'd to the Rich, I think *Plutarch* ought to have added that they order'd *Poplicola* to be buried by the Publick; more especially because he had not left wherewithal of his Own to answer the Expence, which is a Particular the most honourable in his Favour. For a Man, who had expell'd the Kings, and given their Estates to the People; who had been four times Consul, and triumph'd twice over two potent Nations; for such a Man to die poor, in spite of so many Opportunities, and Temptations to be rich; This must be look'd upon as the most glorious Circumstance of all, and by no means to have been pass'd by unmention'd. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and *Livy* were too just to his Memory not to take Notice of it.

(2) All the Women laid aside their Gold, and Purple Habits, and mourn'd a full Year, as they had done before on the Death of *Brutus*.

(3) By This it appears that before the *Romans* had received the *Athenian* Laws, and the Twelve Tables, by which it was forbidden to bury any one in the City, this Custom was observ'd amongst them. It is very likely they had borrow'd This from the *Grecians* before they were govern'd by their Laws. For it was a Thing generally practised in *Greece* not to suffer any to be buried in their Cities but such as had been the Founders of those Cities, or had merited that Honour by some eminent Services. They assign'd one particular Place for *Poplicola's* Funeral Pile, and Another wherein his Ashes were deposited, and That, saith *Dionysius*, was the Burying-place of all his Descendants; an Honour preferable to all the Wealth, and all the Empires of the World put together, and so to be desired by all such as make Felicity to consist not in Voluptuousness, but in Things laudable, and honest.

(4) That Privilege was continued to them in *Augustus* his Time,

there. (1) It is true the Corps is carry'd thither in Ceremony, and a Man appointed for that purpose places a lighted Torch under it, but snatcheth it away immediately. This is done as an Attestation of the Privilege due to the deceased, and of his receding from that Honour; after which the Body is remov'd, and interr'd without the Walls.



The Comparison of Poplicola with Solon.

There appears something singular in this Parallel, and what has not occur'd in any other of the Lives we have written; as that the One shou'd be the Imitator of the Other, and the Other a sort of Prophetick Herald of the Worth and Virtue of Him, with whom he is compar'd. It is certain that *Solon's* Definition of Happiness is much more applicable to *Poplicola* than *Tellus*. *Solon* saith indeed that *Tellus* had been very happy, because he had led a virtuous life, had left Children behind him to succeed him, and died honourably in Defence of his Country; yet was he never celebrated in *Solon's* Poems for a great Man, neither did his Children, or any Employments in the Government, make his

Time, as is evident from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*. But what is added by that Writer, that *Poplicola* and his Descendants were the only *Romans* that had ever received that Honour even to his Time, is not absolutely true, for about 15 or 16 Years after the Death of *Poplicola* the Corps of ten military Tribunes, that had been slain in the War against the *Volsci*, were burnt in the *Circus*, and buried near it.

(1) I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Particularity, which

is not to be found either in *Dionysius*, or *Livy*, and yet it has something very curious in it. How came a Family so considerable as That of the *Claudii* to lose so glorious a Privilege? One may reasonably guess that the wicked Emperors who were descended from it were the Cause of it, and that the *Romans* wou'd no longer suffer the Ashes of Those, who had so cruelly oppress'd them, to find a resting Place within their City.

The Comparison of

Name memorable: But *Poplicola*, while he was alive, was the most eminent among the *Romans*, as well for the Greatness of his Virtue as his Power, and after his Death his Family was accounted among the most honourable. Even in our days, the *Poplicolæ*, *Mesalæ*, and *Valerii*, for (1) Six Hundred Years have acknowledg'd him as the Fountain of their Honour. Tho' *Tellus*, like a gallant Man in the Heat of the Battle maintain'd his Post, and fought bravely in Defence of his Country, yet he fell, and was slain by his Enemies; whereas *Poplicola* after having slain his Enemies, a Circumstance much happier than to be slain by them, after having seen his Country victorious, and flourishing through his Conduct and Ministry, and receiv'd the Honours and Triumphs due to such Services, died the Death *Solon* so passionately desir'd, and which of all Others (2) he thought the most happy. Besides, *Solon's* wish, as contain'd in his Answer to *Minnermus* concerning the End of a Man's Life,

(3) Μηδὲ μοι ἀκλαυτος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοιαι
Ποιήσαιμι θανῶν ἄλγεα καὶ σοναχάς

serves only as a stronger Instance of *Poplicola's* Felicity in that respect: His Death did not only draw Tears from his Friends and Acquaintance,

(1) It appears from this Passage that *Plutarch* wrote this Life about the Beginning of *Trajan's* Reign.

(2) That is, a Death gentle, and composed, attended with a glorious Reputation never to be forgotten.

(3) *Cicero* thinks this Wish of *Solon's* unbecoming a Wise Man, he prefers to it That of the Poet *Ennius*, who wishes quite the contrary.

Nemo Me lacrymis decorat, nec Funera fleu

Faxit. cur? valito vivu' per Ora Virum.

When'er I die let not a Tear be shed,

Nor mourn my Friends around my gloomy Bed.

How can I want a Being, whilst my Name

Is born immortal o'er the Realm of Fame?

Poplicola with Solon:

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but became the Object of an universal Complaint and Sorrow through the whole City; for the very Women deplor'd this loss, as of a Son, Brother, or a Common Father. As for Riches, *Solon* said

Κρήματα δ' ἡμίρην μ' ἔχων, ἀδίκως ὃ παπᾶσαι
οὐκ ἐδέχην.

*Wealth I would have, but not unjustly got,
Lest Vengeance shou'd pursue the guilty Purchase :*

and *Poplicola's* Riches were not only the Product of his Justice, but he had likewise the Pleasure of employing them on the Poor, and regulated his Distributions according to the Merits and Necessities of Those he relieved. So that if *Solon* was reputed the wisest Man, we must allow *Poplicola* to be the happiest; for what *Solon* wish'd for as the greatest and most perfect Good, that *Poplicola* in its proper use enjoy'd to his Death: Wherefore *Poplicola* became as well an Honour to *Solon*, as *Solon* to Him, in transmitting the exactest method of modelling a Commonwealth, and stripping the Consulship of its Pride, made it thereby easy and pleasant to the People; he also transplanted several of his Laws into *Rome*, such as the impowering the People to elect their Officers, and allowing Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People, as *Solon* had done at *Athens*. *Poplicola* did not indeed create a new Senate, (1) as *Solon* had done, but augmented the old with almost a double number. He erected

(1) *Plutarch* attributes to *Solon* the Institution of the *Areopagus*, which however was more ancient than that Lawgiver, as has been already observ'd in his Life. *Cicero* is of the same Opinion with *Plutarch*, for he tells us in his first

Book of *Offices*, that the *Athenians* did not owe so much to *Themistocles* for the Victory he obtain'd over the *Medes* at *Salamine*, as they did to *Solon* for his Constitution of that Court.

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The Comparison of

the Office of *Questors* ; lest the Consul, if good, should not have leisure otherwise to attend greater Matters ; or if bad, should have any Temptation to Injustice, having the Government and Treasury in his Hands.

The *Aversion to Tyranny* was greater in *Poplicola* : for Whosoever endeavour'd an Usurpation, his Punishment by *Solon's* Law commenc'd only upon Conviction ; but *Poplicola* made it Death without the Formality of a Tryal. And tho' *Solon* justly gloried, that when things without the least *Aversion* of the Citizens were presented to his Sovereignty, he refus'd the Offer ; yet *Poplicola* merited not less, who finding a Tyrannical Government, made it more popular by not using the Authority he might. But we must allow, that *Solon* knew it before *Poplicola* : for,

Δῆμι' ὧ δ' ἂν ἄρ' ἴσα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,
Μῆτε λίαν ἀνέθεῖς, μήτε πιεζόμεν'.

*An even Hand will an even State maintain,
Not holding lose, nor yet too strait a Rein.*

But the *remission of Debts* was more peculiar to *Solon*, which much strengthened the Citizens Liberty ; for no Law whatever cou'd secure an Equality, if the Debts of the Poor prevented that Equality ; because where they ought chiefly to exercise their Liberty, as in *Debates, Elections, and Administrations of Offices*, they would be over-rul'd by the Rich, yielding themselves to their disposal. But 'tis more extraordinary, that altho' Sedition usually attends the Remission of Debts, yet he applied it as a Cure for Sedition, his Virtue and Credit were so great as to silence the Clamour which naturally arises upon such Occasions. The beginning of his Government was more glorious,
for

for he was himself an Original, and follow'd no Example, and without the aid of an Ally did great things by his own Conduct: yet the Death of *Poplicola* was more happy and admired; for *Solon* saw the Dissolution of his own Commonwealth, but *Poplicola's* was preserv'd inviolable till the Civil Wars. *Solon* leaving his Laws engraven in Wood, but destitute of a Defender, departed *Athens*; whilst *Poplicola* by continuing in the Magistracy thoroughly settled the Government: and tho' *Solon* was sensible of *Pisistratus's* Ambition, yet he was not able to suppress it, but sunk under the new establish'd Tyranny; whereas *Poplicola* utterly subverted and dissolved a potent Monarchy, strongly settled by long continuance; being nothing inferior to *Solon* in Virtue and Disposition, and withal favourably assisted with Power and Fortune to accomplish his virtuous Designs: and as for martial Exploits, (1) *Deimachus Plateensis* does not so much as attribute the Wars against the *Megarenses* to *Solon*, as is before intimated: But *Poplicola* in great Encounters, both as a private Soldier and Commander, obtain'd the Victory. As to the managery of Civil Affairs, *Solon* in a Mimical way, and by a Counterfeit shew of madness solicited the Enterprize of *Salamis*; whereas *Poplicola* in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greatest Enterprizes, oppos'd *Tarquin*, detected the Conspiracy; and being principally concern'd both

(1) He means that *Deimachus*, who after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, and under the Reign of *Ptolemy the Son of Lagus*, was sent Ambassador to an *Indian King* called *Allibrochades the Son of Sandrochottus*. This Ambassador gave him a Pretence of setting up for an Author, accordingly he wrote a History of the *Indies*, which he stuff'd with so many Fables, that *Strabo* assures us that of all the Historians that have writ upon that Subject, there are none of so little Credit, as *Deimachus*, and *Megasthenes*. And yet *Pliny* has patch'd up his History with Relations borrow'd from those faithful Historians.

in preventing the Escape, and afterwards punishing the Traitors; he not only excluded the Tyrants from the City, but frustrated likewise all their Expectations from thence: and in matters of Conflict, Tumult or Opposition, always behav'd himself with Courage and Resolution; and yet in peaceable Debates, where Persuasion and Condescension were requisite, he was much more to be commended; *Porfenna*, a terrible and invincible Enemy, by such means being reconciled and made a Friend. Some may perhaps object, that *Solon* recovered *Salamis* for the *Athenians*, which they had lost; whereas *Poplicola* receded from part of what the *Romans* were possess'd of: but Judgment is to be made of Actions according to the Times in which they were perform'd. The Conduct of a wise Politician is ever suited to the present posture of Affairs, who often by foregoing a part saves the whole, and by yielding in a small matter secures a greater; as *Poplicola*, who by restoring what the *Romans* had lately usurped, saved their undoubted Patrimony; and when They had much to do to save their City, he put them in possession of the Camp of Those that besieged it. Permitting also the Decision of the Controversy between *Tarquinius* and Him to his Adversary, and being favour'd by the Judge in the Decision, he obtain'd as good Terms as a Victory could have procured; *Porfenna* putting an end to the War, and leaving them all the Provision of his Camp, through a persuasion of the Virtue and gallant Disposition of the *Romans*, which the Consul had impress'd upon him.



The End of the First Volume.

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